

# THE CANADIAN FORUM

Twenty-Eighth Year of Issue

February, 1949

## Prague's New Freedom

*J. W. Bruegel*

► UNPREJUDICED OBSERVERS report a drastic deterioration of living conditions in Czechoslovakia in recent months. Of course, things did not change from heaven to hell overnight the day following the communist putsch. Nevertheless the rapid decline of the standard of living is in direct connection with the destruction of the restricted parliamentary and political democracy allowed by Moscow between 1945 and 1948.

The Communists have one explanation for everything: last year's drought. The consequences of the drought have certainly aggravated the situation, but even here the Communists cannot successfully enter a plea of "not guilty." The harvest would not have been so catastrophic if all the German peasants—Nazis, non-Nazis and anti-Nazis alike—had not been expelled a year before. This left a large area of agricultural ground untilled and unused. Responsibility for this suicidal policy is, of course, shared by the non-Communist parties and by many of the new Czech exiles, but the driving force was the Communists. They knew that the country, thereby weakened economically, would become an easy prey for their political aspirations. The other parties, fascinated by the nationalistic orgy skilfully arranged by the Communists, did not see that here they were digging their own graves.



THE ANCIENT PARLIAMENT HOUSE OF THE KINGDOM OF BOHEMIA (16TH CENTURY)

Another cause of the economic decline was Stalin's veto, expressed in the best (or worst) Berchtesgaden tradition, against Czech acceptance of Marshall aid. (It goes without saying that by receiving such aid the country would have been in a position to overcome much more easily the consequences of last year's drought). Even in Communist circles, promises that Soviet aid will far exceed Marshall offers are considered somewhat doubtfully. The Czech public may not be well informed about the peculiar negotiation methods of the Russians who just send their orders by messenger to the Moscow hotel where the Czech

"negotiators" are waiting, but it is generally understood that Russian raw materials are of inferior quality, that most so-called Russian grain was taken from the Hungarians, and that for all this Moscow "aid" a terrific price must be paid. Absence from the shops of all home-produced consumer goods is a result of Russian pressure. The goods have been sent to Czechoslovakia's "benefactors" as payment for the "aid" which

allegedly has been granted. Yet the Czechs have not been told that one ton of "Russian" grain has to be paid for by three tons of Czech tubes—about one-third of their real value. This is a carefully guarded secret and it gives

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#### PRAGUE'S NEW FREEDOM—Continued

the lie to all the nonsense printed and broadcast day after day about American exploitation of the sixteen Marshall countries.

Western apologists of the present Czechoslovak regime are tireless in pointing out that, whatever this regime does, it has to be judged on the fact that its most enthusiastic support comes from the workers. But how far is that true? Certainly the Communists can count on many of the workers as among their most loyal supporters. But there are many other workers, who think on Socialistic and democratic lines, fanatically in opposition to Communist rule. Many other non-Communists "collaborate" with the régime because they see no other feasible alternative. For obvious reasons, the Munich betrayal of Czechoslovakia is exploited ad nauseam to create an anti-Western feeling. Nevertheless, the enforced separation of the country from the West and from the Western Labor movement does not find sympathy even within the ranks of the Communists. Many of them accept it as inevitable, but nobody believes the official doctrine which denounces Attlee and Blum as "Fascists," and "lackeys of American imperialism."

For months the Communists have been complaining about the apathy and indifference of the workers. They would not do it openly unless it were so blatant. Prime Minister Zapotocky recently confessed in Parliament that the target of the two-year plan, operating from the beginning of 1947, could not be reached. Failure was ascribed, of course, to the bad harvest of 1947, the capitalists and the re-

The author, a former Czechoslovak civil servant, now lives as a freelance writer in London, England.

actionaries. Mr. Zapotocky claimed, however, that the bad results in agriculture, food, industry and building were outweighed by the success of planning so far as industry is concerned. It is impossible to check the figures given, yet even those released by the Government indicate (for example) that, from all the mining areas, only the Western Bohemian collieries—where half of the workers are still Germans—reached the target. The Minister of Industry complained bitterly that in the most important mining area (Ostrava) the miners, who were supposed to reach an output of 110 per cent of the 1937 level, did not attain even 75 per cent of it. No one even slightly familiar with the real conditions believes the Communist claim of successful planning in industry, even if he did not hear the same Zapotocky say a few days later: "Why did dozens of factories fail to fulfil their task? . . . Many reached only 20 per cent of the target . . . It would be silly to hide the fact that the rise of productivity in industry became slower in recent months and even came to a standstill . . . There is a danger, if this is not changed, that we won't be able to raise the standard of living or even keep it at its present level . . . The appeal to work six days a week instead of only five was often not readily accepted and even criticized." A few months earlier, Zapotocky stated that the five-day week had been dropped on the demand of the workers!

The main complaint of the Communists is directed against the mounting absenteeism of the workers. It was admitted in Parliament recently that about 180,000 workers—one in ten—are absent from work daily. In the first six months of 1947, 87 million working hours were lost through unnecessary absenteeism, and the number increased to 94 million in the first six months of 1948. The working hours lost amount to about 7 per cent. More detailed figures are not available, but in November, 1947, before the Com-

(Continued on page 245)

## Twenty-Five Years Ago

Vol. 4, No. 41, February, 1924, *The Canadian Forum*.

For the last few years there has been no symphony orchestra in Canada. Toronto had one some time ago, but it was evidently found to be cheaper and better to import an orchestra whenever necessary from Philadelphia, Boston, or New York. It is not an easy thing to start an orchestra again, and especially to make it into an instrument really fit for the great symphonies. But this winter a very interesting experiment has been tried, which should ultimately lead to excellent results. A number of professional musicians from various orchestras in Toronto came together and committed themselves to the adventure of a series of five o'clock concerts to be given at popular prices about once a fortnight during the season. They were fortunate in obtaining Mr. Von Kunitz' assent to conduct, and to undertake two or three rehearsals for each concert. The only preliminary financial arrangements were made by an auxiliary committee of ladies, who secured a sufficient number of subscribers for the season to cover the regular incidental expenses. For the rest, all profits were to be divided into eighty-five equal shares—ten for the conductor and the others for the seventy-five members of the orchestra. (From "A Symphony Orchestra," by Herbert Davis).

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# THE CANADIAN FORUM

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## Spring Thaw: Prediction Colder

The commentators in general confided their hopes to us at the year's end, and closed the Christmas festivities on a note of cosy optimism which only a fortnight has shown to have been utterly baseless. Taking a high moral tone they rejoiced over the forthcoming armistice in Palestine and over the fall of Chiang; they observed that the Berlin air-lift had not failed and predicted that Russia would begin to thaw. The President of the United States was even more expansive: he surprised both the newshawks and the State Department with the revelation that he had special knowledge of western friends in the Kremlin. The Russians, experienced in the Hitlerian propaganda device of blowing hot and cold at appropriate moments, emitted a warm breeze in the west, and continued to push their relentless way in China and South East Asia. The forces of Israel, flushed by an easy win over Egypt, and assured that the President would not listen to advice over Palestine, began to dream of Aqaba. And suddenly we realized that the winter of cold war was still with us after all.

This is the chaos of January, 1949. At a time when the United States ought to be thinking in terms of strategy it clothes itself in the whole armor of righteousness and its realists are confounded by the irresponsible intuitions of a "right-thinking guy." Marshall is out and Acheson is in. At the moment when the Atlantic Pact, our only present means of salvation, is nearing the final stage, the President decides to score off the British (who after all once wore red coats) and the Dutch (who after all are only imperialists). And, at the sign of Chiang's collapse in China, the U.S. can think of no alternative strategy and contents itself with the export of grave moral admonitions. The tragedy of all this is twofold: the U.S. still refuses to accept the responsibility and the odium which power brings, and it is led by a man with a warm heart but no grasp of international affairs.

## Fair Deal

President Truman's State of the Union address to the Eighty-first Congress is a bold and realistic program in keeping with the best traditions of the Democratic Party. The "Fair Deal" recognizes that "the Government must see that every American has a chance to obtain a fair share of our increasing abundance." More specifically, the president called on Congress to pass measures to curb inflation by imposing controls on commodity speculation, easy credit, prices, wages and rent. A study of productive capacity for goods in "critically short supply, such as steel" is proposed, and Mr. Truman favors government loans to expand production, and wishes "to authorize the construction of . . . the necessary facilities . . . directly if action by private industry fails to meet our needs." Congress is to introduce compulsory health insurance and to pass legislation giving expanded social security coverage and increased benefits, federal aid to education, and the construction, in seven years, of one million low-rent housing units. The necessary increased revenue is to come principally from additional corporate taxes and higher income taxes in upper and middle brackets. The president demanded a long range farm price-support program, increased rural electrification,

the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, and the substitution for it of a modified Wagner Act, and he still stands squarely behind his Civil Rights program.

The president's address to Congress and his economic message should not come as a surprise to anyone who believed in Mr. Truman's integrity, for these measures had been advocated by him in his election campaign and before. The "Fair Deal" is a logical continuation of the second phase of the New Deal, and although it will probably not be implemented completely by Congress, it will do much to keep the United States prosperous and in a strong position to challenge communism by example. The proposed program is not, of course, socialistic as some horrified Republicans have made us believe, but it is a sound step towards making the United States into "a welfare State." The much abused "American Way of Life" of the political windbag may yet become a reality capable of inspiring not only the vast majority of the American people but also those who are at present living in areas recently ravaged by war.

## Ontario Hydro Changeover

The Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario is about to begin the much discussed frequency changeover. The decision to begin this work now, which will require an estimated fifteen years to complete, is the result of recommendations made to the Hydro Commission in three very comprehensive reports. Stone and Webster of Boston, a very distinguished firm of engineering experts, reported on the engineering end of the project. Clarkson, Gordon and Co. reported on and made recommendations regarding the financing. Mr. Harold Hobson, until recently chairman of the Central Electricity Board in Great Britain, reviewed the findings of the two reports and was in agreement with the recommendations contained therein. The three reports agree on the advisability of the frequency changeover being made at this time. It is apparent that the Hydro-Electric Power Commission has made a thorough and efficient job of investigation and is to be complimented on the manner in which it proceeded.

In view of the excellent beginning that has been made, it is unsettling to hear the persistent rumor that a very large amount of the work connected with the frequency changeover has been placed in the hands of the Canadian Comstock Co., Ltd. We understand that applicants answering Hydro ads asking for technical staff in connection with this work are being referred to them. In the classified section of the April, 1948 telephone directory, Toronto, this company is listed as follows: "Electrical and mechanical construction, industrial and commercial air conditioning, plumbing, heating, ventilating and refrigeration systems. Offices at Montreal and Hamilton." On January 14, there appeared in *The Globe and Mail*, on the financial page, the following paid advertisement in the form of cut lines under a photo: "Mr. Charles C. Rathgeb, President of Canadian Comstock Company Limited, Mechanical, Electrical and Frequency Conversion Contractors, with offices located in Windsor, London, St. Catharines, Hamilton, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal and Halifax, announces the appointment of Mr. Charles Rathgeb, Jr., as assistant to the President . . ." It appears that the Canadian Com-



stock Co., Limited, in addition to becoming "Frequency Conversion Contractors," has expanded considerably since April, 1948.

Mr. Harold Hobson in his report had this to say of the letting of contracts to private companies: "I would strongly advocate that the work of consumer changeover should, in the main, be carried out by the Hydro-Electric Power Commission itself through a special Change of Frequency Department. This work is so intimately associated with the change of the Commission's own facilities that controls from the Centre will be essential if the operation is to be carried through smoothly and without serious inconvenience to the public. There will, however, undoubtedly be cases, especially among the larger industrial establishments, where facilities and staff exist which could be utilized for this work. In framing legislation covering the change, it will be desirable and in the interests of ultimate economy to provide for flexibility in the arrangements to be made between the Hydro-Electric Power Commission and the consumers."

Mr. Drew, speaking in the legislature on March 24, 1948 (Hansard, page 543), had this to say: "At the beginning of the session a digest of the presentation to the municipal representatives was placed before honorable members, and so everything might be clear, a full copy of the recommendation of Stone and Webster, engineering experts on frequency changeover, of Mr. Harold Hobson, who at the time he was asked to come here was chairman of the Central Electricity Board in Great Britain, and of J. D. Wood and Gordon, the business experts who advised on the organization, and of Clarkson and Co., who advised on the financial details. In addition to that, as I have stated, we received the advice of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission with the support of all their technical experts and we adopted without variation in any way those recommendations."

It is in the public interest that a full and detailed statement of the nature and the extent of the arrangement between the Canadian Comstock Co., Limited, and the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario be made forthwith together with an adequate explanation as to why the recognized business practice of calling for tenders was not employed in this specific case. The people of Ontario are justly proud of the achievements of their publicly-owned hydro system and will demand that they be kept fully informed at all times as to the manner in which the recommendations of the reports are being carried out.

## Money Madness

It is not surprising that Canada is moving from an agricultural to an industrial economy, but it is surprising that the transition is as rapid as the Rt. Hon. C. D. Howe, minister of trade and commerce, indicates in an article in *Public Affairs*, published by Dalhousie University. The war, the ultra-protection of the government's U.S. dollar-saving import restrictions, accelerated depreciation allowances for income tax purposes, and preparation for the next war have speeded up the process.

It is too easily assumed that industrialization brings with it a rise in the standard of living of the entire community. Mr. Howe says: "We consider further industrialization . . . as one of the important factors contributing to a continuing high level of employment and income, with which a rising standard of living of the Canadian people is intimately associated." He seems to confuse the maintenance of a high level of employment with the provision of more employment. He seems to forget how industry collapsed in the thirties while agriculture continued to produce, and how unem-

ploied sons and daughters returned by the thousands to their parents' farms. He seems to forget that depression hit industrialized United States even more severely than it hit Canada.

Canadians have more than a fair share of the earth's surface and resources, and they must welcome more new citizens from other countries, but they should consider whether the present mad chase after self-sufficiency is more likely to be a contributory cause of war than a defence measure. Other countries, with which Canada should be trading, are as madly striving to make themselves agriculturally self-sufficient. Is this the way to raise the standard of living or to build a peaceful world? Are the nations going to abandon the effort to establish a satisfactory international monetary unit or means of exchange?

There is reason for doubt whether Canada's rapid industrialization is really a planned attack on the next depression. That interpretation of today's unprecedented capital expansion is to some extent a screen for a money-making orgy. There will be bigger but not necessarily better cities. There will be fewer but not necessarily more modern farm homes. There will be more but not necessarily happier people. Canadians cannot be happy in an unhappy world, secure in an insecure world, or richer in a world that does not trade.

## Dr. R. A. Wilson, 1874-1949

The news that Dr. R. A. Wilson had died on January 2 created little stir in Canada: most Canadians have never heard of him. Yet, as the word of his death gradually spread, it brought genuine sorrow to many of his former students who remembered him not merely as a professor but as a friend, and a sense of loss to writers and philosophers all over the world who were coming to recognize him as one of the great original thinkers of his day.

His life was uneventful: born and educated in Ontario, he taught in high schools in Ontario and Saskatchewan, was principal of the Regina Normal School for three years, and then, in 1915, became head of the English Department of the University of Saskatchewan. There he taught for twenty-five years and then retired to Vancouver where he lived until his death.

While lecturing in Saskatoon, Dr. Wilson was working out a theory about the origin and development of language. For years he used manuscript copies of his thesis as reference material in his course on the philosophy of language. Gradually he rewrote and polished and edited that manuscript, and at last, in 1937, he sent it to a London publisher who issued a limited edition under the title *The Birth of Language*. It was a mild success, which was the most that Dr. Wilson had expected. Then George Bernard Shaw read it and declared it was the best thing written on the philosophy of evolution since Samuel Butler—and from Shaw there could be no higher praise. Saying it ought to be made available to a wider public, he suggested a cheap edition "baited with a preface by myself: an overrated attraction commercially, but one which still imposes on London publishers." The new edition, called *The Miraculous Birth of Language*, received wider publicity, although in some quarters (not confined to London), Shaw's fireworks appeared to overshadow Dr. Wilson's simple prose. At the time of his death Dr. Wilson was working on a second book in which it was his purpose to analyze the English language and explain its origins more completely than had ever been done. We sincerely hope that this was advanced sufficiently to be given to the world.



Shaw said that when he learned that Canada made professors of men like Wilson who were in the vanguard instead of camp followers, he considered whether he should not end his days in Saskatoon or Vancouver. Canada can claim little credit: Dr. Wilson's merits received all too scant appreciation during his life. Yet those who were fortunate enough to know him may count themselves highly privileged. To them, as long as they live, any mention of Wordsworth or Burns will call up the image of Dr. Wilson quoting "A gracious spirit o'er this earth presides," or singing "John Anderson, My Jo," and they will be apt to find their eyes filling with tears.

Dr. Wilson was not a brilliant lecturer: he had no oratorical tricks or sparkling anecdotes. Yet, to many of his students, he managed to convey not only his own deep love of literature but his own sense of the great and lasting values. His gentleness, tolerance, and warm kindness made his whole life a work of art. He was that extremely rare thing: a really good man, completely unconscious of his virtue; a truly great man completely lacking in vanity or self-importance.

## Thumbprints

The arrest of the Hungarian archbishop Cardinal Josef Mindszenty by the communist authorities removes from public life an uncompromising opponent of communism, but one under whose leadership few liberals could rally. The government would perhaps have stood to gain by allowing itself to be opposed by a man who once said that Darwin "was a dangerous heretic who should have been burned at the stake." As it is, the government has made what even from its own point of view could only be described as a blunder.

\* \* \*

The annual reading survey of a Czech newspaper for 1947 showed that well over eighty-five per cent of the leading citizens polled placed Edouard Benes' *Memoirs* at the head of their list. For 1948, the same newspaper reported that no one had read the Benes book, but its place had been taken by the works of Gottwald and Zapotocky. It is hard to tell whether this *volte face* was caused by a radical change in tastes, or a radical change in leading citizens.

### PRAGUE'S NEW FREEDOM—Continued from page 242

munist putsch, absenteeism in the mines had already reached 14.3 per cent, and in the foundries 11.5 per cent. The present state of affairs, admittedly worse, can well be imagined.

What are the reasons? In a country "governed by the people," a boundless enthusiasm for the régime would surely express itself in output records. The "Czechoslovak experiment" shows that it is not sufficient to retain the outer forms of planning and nationalization, if the whole political and economic orientation of the country leads in consequence to a permanent decline in the standard of living. A "Russian" orientation of the country, coupled with cold shouldering of the West, cannot mean less than that for Czechoslovakia. The Czech workers certainly would not mind tightening their belts for a certain time, if it would lead to recovery. Yet they accept the most radical reforms only with misgivings and apathy, because they involve not only the loss of their civil rights, but also the extinction of any hope for a better economic future. The Communist perversion of Socialistic ideals has compromised Socialism in the eyes of many once sympathetic Czechs. For them, Socialism has become a synonym for corruption and mis-

management by incompetent people. The great Communist crime is that they drive to the Right people who belong to the Left. When they declare that *this* and *only this* is socialism, many are inclined to answer that they would rather turn their back on it.

The Communists do not seem to realize that their prediction of an "aggravation of the class struggle in the near future" appears rather ridiculous in a country where there are—so they say—no more capitalists! This shabby pretext is used to perpetuate large-scale political persecution, at which they excel, and which is destined to intimidate their enemies among the majority of the population. A letter written by one of the oldest Social Democrats in the country recalls that he was sentenced under reactionary Hapsburg rule of before 1914 for distributing "seditious leaflets" to 24 hours police-arrest. During the last war, the Nazis sentenced his nephew, for the same "crime," to one year's imprisonment. Now, in the people's democracy, he writes that prison sentences of eight, ten and more years are the punishment for those who send out "illegal leaflets." These sentences are a daily occurrence. The new "Law for the Defence of the Republic" declares any opposition as punishable from the outset. New crimes have been created, like "war-mongering," which is every word of criticism. As under the Nazis, collective listening to the BBC is punishable. Concentration camps, which have been in existence for many months, have now been "created by law." Prisoners are those who are "likely to endanger the building-up of people's democracy." The courts, deprived of the last vestige of independence, are working overtime.

In September, political enemies of the régime were condemned to a total of 654 years of penal servitude; in October, to 579 years. Among the condemned are many workers and ordinary citizens. They can hardly be accused of a "capitalist" or "reactionary" attitude. Let us quote only one recent report from the Czech press: "Vaclav Ksada (43), shopkeeper from Dolni Pocernice (near Prague) was known in the former Social Democratic Party as a Right-wing element (!). Recently, Ksada received a letter from Germany from his friend Josef Stanek, who escaped from our country after February. The letter also contained a



HOW TO KEEP HEALTHY

leaflet maligning the President of the Republic (Gottwald). Ksada multiplied the letter eight times and sent it out to friends, together with an alleged declaration of the late President, Dr. Benes. When arrested, Ksada confessed to having illegally issued the periodical *Social Democrat*. The court condemned Ksada to 18 years' penal servitude."

Eighteen years of penal servitude for remaining true to the ideals of democratic socialism! Do those Socialists in the West who still try to excuse Ksada's oppressors not finally feel ashamed, when reading about this barbaric sentence against one of their comrades?

## Indonesia: Back to Colonialism?

*J. van Noordwijk*

► AGAIN INDONESIA is in the limelight, owing to the Dutch military action which has virtually terminated the existence of the "Republic of Indonesia." Judging from the reports in the Canadian Press this was just an example of 19th century colonial tactics, after a brief spell of a more enlightened policy since World War II. This article does not intend to absolve the Dutch government from all blame, but merely to point out some factors which make it clearer how it was possible for a Dutch cabinet headed by a staunch democratic socialist to decide to use armed force again.

When in November, 1946, the draft treaty of Linggadjati was drawn up jointly by Dutch and Indonesian representatives, involving recognition by the Dutch of the Republic, an agreement was reached to set up a sovereign federation of Indonesian states. It seemed that mutual confidence was large enough to solve the problem of the new relationship, to assure political autonomy for Republican Indonesia and close economic and cultural ties between the Republic and the Netherlands. It took about half a year before this treaty was ratified by the respective parliaments, however, and by this time mutual distrust had grown again.

The republicans complained (not without cause) that the behavior of many Dutch officials in Batavia and of Dutch troops in Indonesia was more in keeping with a classical colonial regime than with the progressive policy voiced by The Hague. Another ground for distrust was the situation in Indonesia outside of the Republic. At the end of the war the Republic was the only independent Indonesian state and its power was limited to Java, Madura and parts of Sumatra. Realizing that the time was coming for autonomy for the other islands (whose population exceeds that of Canada), the Dutch organized a number of conferences to set up autonomous states, to form together the "United States of Indonesia." The Republic claimed that the only Dutch motive in this was to balance the power of the Republic; the Dutch replied that seeing the way minorities were treated in the Republic (a great number of Chinese were massacred by republican gangs) they could not trust the Republic to respect the rights of these Eastern Indonesians.

One of the basic problems of the Republic, which became more serious as time went on, was the lack of control of the republican premier over the republican army. Another was the unstable course of the political parties in the Republic, which would force their decisions on their representatives in the cabinet without realizing that these, better informed, might be better qualified to take decisions of far-reaching consequence. Time and again an agreement reached

by the Dutch and the republican premier was nullified by the implacability of the republican army leaders, who saw a threat to republican freedom in every agreement. This lack of central authority in the Republic has been one of the most serious stumbling blocks in all negotiations since 1945. It led to the first Dutch military action in July, 1947, when the republican government was unable to establish rule and order by controlling the armed bands plundering plantations, kidnapping white people and terrorizing Indonesians suspected of co-operating with the Dutch. In talks with the Dutch in Batavia the republican premier had agreed to deal with this problem, but back in his capital he found his hands tied again by the army leaders. This state of affairs brought even the most progressive Dutch negotiators to frustration. It gradually became their conviction that, no matter how much republican independence might be justified, progress toward its attainment could be made only when the Republic was ruled by other leaders. When in July, 1947, the contact with the Republic broke off completely, and even an ultimate offer of arbitration by a third power was rejected by the Republic, the Dutch government decided to use its own troops to establish order on republican territory.

The "police-action" reached its military objectives, but its political results were disastrous. It accelerated the process of the disintegration of the Republic by decreasing still more the control of the government over its army. (In the fall of 1947 neutral observers believed, in view of the corruption of republican civil servants and the resulting economic chaos, that the Republic would not survive the next six months.) It encouraged the conservative opposition in Holland and the aggressive Dutch civil servants in Batavia in their opposition to the government's progressive policy.

When the "Committee of Good Offices" sent out by the UNO to Java managed to re-establish contact between republicans and Dutch, hope for a peaceful settlement was revived, especially when in February, 1948, a new armistice was signed (the "Renville" agreement). In 1948, however, the situation went on deteriorating. According to the treaty of Linggadjati an interim government, half Indonesian and half Dutch, was to be set up before January 1, 1949, to organize the "United States of Indonesia." Negotiations to induce the Republic to take part in this interim government failed.

To what extent the fear of the republican government to take a responsible decision which would be unpopular with the army went, appeared at one critical stage, when the premier, Mohammed Hatta, announced that he would be ill for the next two weeks, and the whole republican cabinet suddenly left for a visit to India which had already been postponed for half a year. Although the republican and Dutch troops were to respect certain demarcation lines, military observers sent out by the UNO reported numerous transgressions by both sides. Republican troops and partisans kept on waging a guerilla war against the Dutch troops, who often retaliated with harsh measures against the civilian population.

In December, 1948, the negotiations had run to a total aground. After a visit by a special Dutch delegation to Djogjakarta, Hatta had finally agreed to take part in the interim government; but again his generals refused. After three years of tiresome and unsuccessful negotiations, Holland gave up hope of inducing the Republic to take part in the interim government, together with the other Indonesian states; if the Republic did not want to join, it would be set up without the Republic. But the infiltrations by republican bands into non-republican territory (violating

the treaty of Linggadjadi and the Renville armistice) became more and more frequent. Many Indonesians considered too co-operative with the Dutch were killed or kidnapped and the lives of Indo-Europeans (descendants of Indonesian and European parents) were constantly in jeopardy. The Dutch government was faced with either withdrawing completely from republican soil, leaving all Indo-Europeans and other minorities (too numerous to be evacuated) to the mercy of the republican gangs; or occupying the whole Republic and restoring order once and for all.

How could the Dutch democratic socialist cabinet ministers support this course? If they had carried their opposition to fighting to the point of resigning, it would definitely have led to a new conservative cabinet, endangering what possibilities there were left for a progressive policy toward Indonesia and the Dutch West Indies. There was a strong opposition in the party executive. However advisable the military action may have been with regard to the safety of the non-republican Indonesians, it is certainly deplorable that the Netherlands government broke the Renville agreement by not invoking third party arbitration when the negotiations broke down, and its policy in treating the Security Council as a *quantité négligeable* is certainly very regrettable.

It is a tragic fact that as the negotiations dragged on the more co-operative republicans were pushed aside by the republican army, which in its quest for total independence was one of the main causes for the downfall of the Republic. There is hope however (in view of the personal visit of Prime Minister Drees to Java, who like all democratic socialists rejects the colonial system) that the occupation of the Republic will not signify the return of colonial rule, but that somehow here too autonomy will be established. In what shape, only the future will tell.

## The Structure of British Trade Unions

John R. Coleman

### II. Economic Policies

► NOTHING THAT IS HAPPENING in Britain today seems more likely to change the historical role of the trade unions in the community than the active intervention of the government in the field of wage determination. This intervention, begun in large part in the light of the economic crisis, received its most positive impetus to date from the *White Paper on Personal Incomes* in 1948. The indications are, however, that the White Paper was only one step in the direction of a drastically altered wage structure for the economy. For the trade unions, the question of wage determination is the most vital phase of their current economic policy. Indeed, it may be one of the most vital unsolved problems of democratic socialism.

The Government's *White Paper on Personal Incomes* in 1948 had bluntly asked the trade unions to refrain from making wage demands, except in very special circumstances. In the Trades Union Congress debate which followed, the government's position received majority endorsement. The result was perhaps never in doubt; but, while the votes of delegates representing five million workers sustained the TUC Executive Council in its support of the White Paper, the votes of another two million trade unionists were cast in opposition.

The acceptance of the White Paper principles has not, whether by intention or accident, meant exactly the same things to the government and to the TUC. The government had pleaded that there were only two conditions under which wage increases should be considered at this time: (1) when such increases seemed necessary to attract workers into understaffed, essential industries; and (2) when the incomes in a given occupation had become clearly inadequate because of increases in the cost of living. The unions have put an interpretation upon that plea which added to the above conditions the following justifications for increases: (1) where such an increase was clearly compensated for by increased productivity; (2) where wages were below reasonable subsistence levels to begin with; and (3) where increases were necessary to maintain established occupational wage differentials. To date, the government has not seen fit to correct this interpretation and it remains the effective policy. This is true in spite of the eagerness with which employers insisted that what the White Paper really meant was the freezing of all wages.

Acceptance of the White Paper by the TUC is not binding upon the individual trade unions. As autonomous collective bargaining agents, they have the power to press wage demands if they see fit to do so. And, indeed, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, one of the key British labor organizations, has recently won a significant wage increase, although in fairness it must be added that the original demand was made before the White Paper appeared. The fact that individual unions have, by and large, adhered to the TUC policy with such a high degree of unanimity is more of a tribute to their own leaders than it is to regimentation from Transport House, the TUC headquarters.

The net outcome of this acceptance of the White Paper as a guiding policy has been that British trade unionism has acted with responsibility and with consideration for the welfare of the entire economy in that area which, it was often assumed in the past, would be its real testing-ground. In saying, "We are willing to forego wage increases which we could win with our present strength," the unions act in contradiction to the Westbrook Pegler model of a labor union.

Three significant remarks need to be made here. First of all, the acceptance of the White Paper was not engineered in a splurge of idealism; nor was it a pure case of sacrifice. The cold facts of the economic crisis made it clear that uncontrolled wage increases could nullify all the government's efforts to keep the national economy on an even keel. Here was a crisis so obvious that, even under a Tory government, there is every likelihood that moderation would have been the rule in union economic policies. What the existence of the Labor government did was to lift the analysis of the situation above any suspicion on the part of the unions. They came to believe that the crisis would be met by sacrifices from all groups in the economy.

Secondly, there was an important condition attached to the union's acceptance of the White Paper: profits and prices alike were to be pegged. On the question of prices, the government had been unable to honor its pledge entirely. Prices have risen, largely for two reasons: the increased cost of the goods which Britain must import, and the cancellation of certain subsidies at home. But comparing price changes abroad, Britons consider themselves rather fortunate that the line has been held as effectively as it has.

The issue of profits is not nearly as happy a one. The appeal which has been made to the unions has been, "High profits?—the Chancellor of the Exchequer will take care of them." And those who are making the profits will be



the last to deny Cripps' effectiveness in "taking care of them!" At least part of the protest which is heard at each union convention on the subject of high profits may be window-dressing; and attention can more usefully be directed to that part of the protest which expresses genuine concern. The economists are quite right who point out that all of the profits in the country, if divided among all workers, would mean only insignificant increases in pay envelopes. This type of analysis neglects to consider that it is a question of relative inequality, rather than of absolute amounts, which is crucial to the thinking of those who attack high profits. However, even if one grants that further reductions in the inequalities of the national income distribution are in the social interest, it need not follow that direct pegging—or confiscation—of profits is the optimum means to employ to this end. It might still be argued that the main weapon to be used in income redistribution should be that of progressive income taxation.

The third remark to be made upon the acceptance of the White Paper concerns the importance attached to wages in the changing British social structure. We might all agree that it is erroneous to suggest that unions are economic units, ever pressing for wage increases for their members regardless of cost. But do we not need to go further? Shouldn't we add that wages themselves are less important in the lives of British workers today than ever before? Particularly, we may point to the accent upon social security legislation and the nationalized health plan, and upon government housing and the like. Or we might look at the impact of price controls and of rationing. All of these things together seem to make the wage rate less important as a determinant of the degree to which an individual worker's goals are going to be realized in the British economy. To the extent that this is true, the White Paper may be making less taxing demands upon the unions than first examination may suggest.

None of these remarks seriously detracts from the conclusion that British trade unionism has, in the first years of the Labor government, acted with high courage and foresight in holding back on wage demands. Democracy is taught and practised in the large majority of these unions, and thus leaders and rank-and-file members alike have had to agree to accept the White Paper principles in order to render those principles effective. The leaders pursued a line of action which in other circumstances could only have led to political suicide, and they presented their case to their membership with such persuasion that they elicited majority support at every turn. And union members smothered what must have been an overwhelming urge to use their newly acquired bargaining power, the very power which they had long been told would bring the worker what he wanted. From virtually every constituent union of the TUC, an affirmative response has been made to the question, "Will the unions act with the degree of responsibility necessary to prevent inflation and to keep the economy functioning in a severe crisis?"

But already a bigger question confronts these unions. To answer it in the affirmative will require still more courage. That question is, "Will the unions accept national wage planning as part of the new economy?"

First, is such a national wage policy necessary? Must the socialist economy, as it is conceived by British Laborites, provide for national planning on the wage issue as inevitably as it does for the costs of other factors of production? Is this part and parcel of the overall allocation of resources into those uses which are deemed most socially desirable by government policy-makers?

Now, plainly, a national wage policy would rob the present collective bargaining machinery of a major share of its significance. This is the point which arouses the most intense opposition to such a policy. One group among the British unions—a clear majority would fit into this category—demands that this collective bargaining machinery, the product of many years of hard work, be left unimpaired. The leaders of this group want it left to individual unions to exercise policies of restraint in the national interest and to make such adjustments as seem necessary to perfect that machinery. They point, with pardonable pride, to the success of voluntary restraints over the past months since the appearance of the White Paper.

Will such a voluntary policy continue to meet the needs of the economy? Many of the controls which mark the British economy today are more directly attributable to the war and to the ensuing import-export crisis than they are to positive programs for socialism. Only slowly will the real need for wage planning become obvious. The implementation of the socialist program involves successively more and more democratic planning. But all of that planning could go for naught if collective bargaining on wages, as it is now set up, prevented the optimum allocation of men in industry. If the strongest unions extracted the best wage bargains in an industry of lesser social importance, either in terms of the present export drive or the long run efforts to raise the national standards of living, the planners might be frustrated even in those aims with substantial majority support in the political community.

The object of a national wage policy would be to promote the closest possible link between the wage level on a particular job and the nature of the job done, considering both its contribution to the national welfare and the physical conditions under which it is performed. It would mean a wage structure designed to assist in the optimum allocation of manpower, to act as a spur toward highest productivity, and to make such an increase as is possible in the share of the national income going to labor. Precisely because wages seem to be of declining importance in terms of motivation, such a national policy can only *assist* in all these ends: it can never promote them alone.

The administration of a national wage policy would be a problem of major magnitude for any government. It will require the highest degree of skill and foresight on the part of the policy-makers, who must be armed with the fullest information: information on national productivity, on the level and distribution of national income, on the desired manpower distribution and levels of investment for all industries, and on the government's own fiscal policies and plans with respect to the price level. Nominally, the top level planning will involve tripartite negotiations by government, TUC, and the British Employers' Confederation; practically, it seems likely that the central—and decisive—role will be played by the government. It is this fact which lies at the root of some of the objections raised in the unions against a government wage policy. These unions are afraid of the day when a government unfriendly to them will play that role.

Even a satisfactory solution to the administrative problems will not guarantee the success of the wage program. The demand for the co-operation of the unions will be just as acute as it is today. This will be particularly true at the plant level. Within limits, the collective bargaining process will probably continue as a means of applying the general terms of the national policy to specific plant situations; and unions and employers will thus share in the responsibility for the program's administration. The biggest changes which

will result from the national wage policy will be those affecting the present industry-wide negotiating machinery. It is top level union leaders and not branch officials who will feel the most direct effects of this aspect of government planning. Because the Labor government relies so heavily upon the support of these leaders, such planning can only succeed if they co-operate wholeheartedly in promoting the success of the program. For collective bargaining is not destined to disappear, to be replaced by wage determination by government fiat. Rather a new form of collective bargaining will emerge, in which the overriding considerations will be those of harmony with the government's basic economic planning and in which the unions will continue to play a significant role, particularly as a channel of upward and downward communication between the planners at the top and workers at the bottom.

But open opposition to such a wage policy is more common among labor leaders today than is open support. Is it reasonable to expect that these men will change over and begin an active campaign for wage planning? The answer is probably no; but, at the same time, the likelihood is that there will be a slow drift towards a national wage policy in the face of opposition which will increase at first and then gradually disappear.

On a small scale, the Labor government is already taking the early steps towards just such a wage policy as has been discussed here. The government's persuasive powers which have so effectively worked to temper union wage demands in the economic crisis are contributing to the slow evolution of this policy. So are all the measures which achieve income redistribution without actual interference with wage rates, in that they make those rates of lesser importance and hence make their alteration, according to plan, somewhat simpler. Finally, determination of wages in the nationalized industries gives the government new powers in implementing such a policy. By 1950, one in five workers will be in these industries. Judicious exercise of its powers in negotiating with the unions will enable the government to promote the ends of a national wage policy within this segment of industry. This will be an important testing-ground, for the government has the opportunity to gather all the pertinent data here and to undertake extensive job evaluation programs, two essential first steps. Hence, as nationalization spreads, the tendency towards government planning on wages will grow.

All of this indicates that the years ahead will be quite in harmony with those which have passed since 1945. The history of British socialism to date has not been one of drastic changes, but of slow experimentation and compromise, in the best English tradition. So it will in all likelihood be with wages. The need for government direction of wages seems to be of increasing importance as an integral part of the whole planning picture; but that need is not going to be met by a single piece of legislation in the Houses of Parliament. The debate about the advisability of such a policy will continue with increased fervor in the months ahead. But, bit by bit, compromise by compromise, planning on wages seems likely to become a part of the British scene.

And what will this mean to the trade unions? The impact is clear: what unions have sometimes narrowly interpreted as their *raison d'être* will have become a very much changed function. The very government which they elected will have stepped in to take an active role as prosecutor of a new plan for wage determination and to narrow the limits within which employers are free to make bargains. Shall we then say of the unions what the walrus said of the oysters which he had eaten?

"It seems a shame," the Walrus said,  
"To play them such a trick,  
After we've brought them out so far  
And made them trot so quick."

Democratic socialism of the British variety does not seem to involve a trick played upon the unions. To begin with, their economic functions are not removed but only altered. Secondly, their function in the processing of legitimate grievances of workers continues unabated. Finally, as the next article suggests, the socialist state can—and must—provide unions with major new channels into which their energies may be directed. These are the channels suitable to the promotion of industrial democracy.

(This is the second of a series of three articles.)

## Mr. Beder's First Term Program

G. M. A. Grube

► I PRESUME that Mr. E. A. Beder's article in the January issue of *The Canadian Forum* is intended as a serious discussion and criticism of the CCF first-term program. I shall therefore try to ignore the haughty sneers with which he states that neither the CCF nor the British Labor party, nor their like, have any knowledge or appreciation of political theory. "It is a peculiarity of the Anglo-Saxon mind" he tells us, "that it considers theory and practice quite unrelated . . .", and that the CCF "have eyes only for the practical measures and let the theory, and perhaps the theorists, go hang." Wisecracks like these only mean that the theories of social democratic parties—that of the possibility of a mixed economy, for example—are not those of Mr. Beder, whether they held in an Anglo-Saxon country or anywhere else. Or does Mr. Beder not admit the existence of any theories but his own?

Starting from the assumption that the nationalization of the banks is "the outstanding plank" of the program, Mr. Beder goes on to state that this is worse than useless unless the government has already "taken over production." Yet except for a contemptuous reference to the agricultural implement industry (and where does he get the idea that this could not reduce prices, or that the present system of distribution would be left intact?), Mr. Beder makes no reference at all to the sections of the economy which the CCF does intend, quite explicitly, to socialize, such as transportation, iron and steel, fertilizers and chemicals, fuel and power. All this is apparently not worthy of mention. Big business, apparently, will go on just the same, and also be able to ignore the investment controls which Mr. Beder does not refer to either. Yet these are of some importance also with regard to the insurance companies. He can very reasonably argue that the insurance companies should be transferred to the public business sector, though few theorists with any regard for facts would agree that it is quite as simple a "money for jam" process as Mr. Beder envisages. But obviously that inclusion would hardly have saved the program from being mere "makeshift bits and pieces" in his eyes.

A well-known member of the CCF replies to E. A. Beder, whose article, "First Term Program," appeared in our January issue.



When he turns to theory, Mr. Beder can scarcely contain his contempt for the British Labor party! Their 1945 program was, he considers, "of pre-war vintage" and "no one in the party seemed to realize" that the world had turned over and that Britain's "export-import relationship, which had been the foundation of the country's economic structure, had been undermined." Well, those of us who had the opportunity to discuss these matters with British socialists know that, long before 1945, they were only too dreadfully aware of that fact. For that matter even the Conservatives knew it.

It would seem that we in the CCF are equally ignorant of the fact that Canada needs "a surplus of exports to maintain economic health." The import and export boards of the CCF programs are evidently not worth mention, presumably because "the price mechanism" will in any case require the slashing of export prices. Actually, of course, the present dislocations of trade are not so much a matter of price as of the destruction of Western Europe's productive capacity owing to the war and, largely as a result of the breakdown of the triangular trade between the U.S.A., Canada and Britain. That is why the CCF is supporting the European recovery program, and insisting that "Canada should be ready to make her own contribution to the success of this program. The necessary plans for the development and allocation of our available resources for this purpose should be undertaken immediately by the federal government." And so the last national convention stated.

Mr. Beder, however, comes to the remarkable conclusion that: "*If you have to depend upon the world market to maintain your economy, it is futile to speak of socialism.*" Now it is quite true that a country which, like Canada, depends largely upon world markets will suffer inevitably if world markets crash. Economic isolationism is both undesirable and impossible, and Canada should, obviously, do all in her power to avoid such an eventuality. If the worst comes to the worst, however, it is dangerous defeatism to say that nothing could be done. Socialist measures would not only spread the burden more equitably and avoid the wastes of capitalism, both necessary and desirable objectives, but would also do a great deal to keep things going at home, and even abroad. Nothing is more futile than a conviction of futility.

Mr. Beder's own solution is remarkable. First we must have "full nationalization." Then we must have a "socialist federation." He also suggests that we should plan for more trade with Britain.

This last suggestion is quite sound. The CCF has more than once criticized the Liberal government for putting obstacles in the way of such trade, not only with Britain but with Western Europe as a whole and stated its own policy, as quoted above. If Mr. Beder has a plan, by all means let us have it.

But what of the two steps of his main argument? What is "full nationalization"? Clearly, it must mean the nationalization of *all* means of production and distribution. Such complete nationalization is not, and never has been, the program of the CCF. It is theoretically unsound, because it would put an intolerable strain upon the machinery of democratic government, impossible in practice to introduce in a democracy without dislocating the whole economy. The nationalization of anti-social monopolies, on the other hand, is both sound and feasible, as well as necessary. With his objections to gradualism, Mr. Beder seems to suggest further that full nationalization must be introduced all at once, though he does not tell us how.

Even that, however, is not enough! We must have a "socialist federation." The word federation must refer to some form of international government. As between what countries? Britain? But Mr. Beder does not consider its present government as socialist since it has no program of full nationalization. What country has? Surely Mr. Beder does not suggest that a "federation" with Russia is either practicable or desirable? Yet who else has "full nationalization?"

The sort of program which Mr. Beder suggests, apparently quite seriously, would require a political party to address the electorate somewhat as follows: "As a country we depend upon world markets. Socialism is not the slightest use under these conditions. Nevertheless we intend to nationalize everything, all the means of production. Not that this is any use, until the day when a number of other countries have done the same. We know of no countries in the Western world that have done this, or are likely to do it, but some day some may, and then we'll federate. Meanwhile, this is our program and we ask you to support it." This may sound absurd, but it is the logical conclusion of Mr. Beder's argument, and surely theorists should be logical. It is this kind of theory which seems to me "quite unrelated to practice," and indeed "its antithetical approach." True, no one could accuse it of being "makeshift bits and pieces," but I'm afraid it may strike a lot of people as "plain nonsense."

Socialist theory as I understand it aims at freedom, political and economic, and at social and economic security for all. The first step toward that goal is the kind of social security scheme which is outlined in the first-term program of the CCF. Because, as Mr. Beder quite correctly states, social welfare is impossible without the economic resources to produce what is promised, the use of our resources must be planned for the good of all. This in turn requires that certain centres of economic power be transferred from private to public ownership, and the minimum transfers required to do an immediate job of social security during the four or five years of one parliament are set out in the socialization plank of the first term program. Democratic methods may be slow, but they are sure, and the program will extend, not diminish, democracy in practice.

It is easy to say that it is foolish to work out any immediate program when the immediate chances of office are slim at the next election. There were plenty of people who said the same thing to the Labor party in 1945, but they were wrong. The prophets of socialist gloom and conservative heaven are liable to be equally wrong in Canada in 1949. In any case, the Canadian electorate has the right to demand from the CCF a statement of what their intentions are should they form a government, and of what they believe should be done now. The CCF has an equal duty to tell them. That may not be politically astute (many think that the less said the better and it must be confessed that this method has served the old parties well in the past) but at least it is politically honest. The CCF program tells the people of Canada what ought to be done now and what can be done now, in the four or five years, that is, before the election after next.

That program is certainly not perfect. It can and should be criticized and discussed, for what it is and on its own premises. It is not very much use discussing a definite program from a set of premises completely foreign to the philosophy of the party that adopted it. At least, the two kinds of criticism should not be confused. And it is the more helpful criticism that one hopes to find in *The Canadian Forum*.



# Drew-Duplessis Alliance

Mortimer Levitt

► THIS STRIKING POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT, still carefully concealed and hotly denied to date, unites in brotherly love and a mutual assistance pact, two men who each rode into power by damning what the other stood for, two men who have freely indulged in demagogic political campaigns that have filled the peoples of both Quebec and Ontario with mistrust and hate for one another. This unholy alliance has as its aim the elevation to federal power of George Drew, and the emergence of Premier Duplessis as a force in Dominion politics.

But one should not view this merger as too much of a surprise, for both men are old guard conservatives, with similar political and social concepts. Despite outwardly differing policies, both are ideologically on common ground and have secretly worked together in the past few years in persistent attempts to confuse and embarrass that common enemy—Ottawa.

From the public however this liaison has been most carefully concealed, for years of demagoguery, upon which they built mutually antagonistic followings, cannot be undone in a day. As a consequence, at this logical time to join forces and defeat the weakened Liberals, neither Drew nor Duplessis has dared so far announce their secret ambition to unite. The ghosts of the past still haunt them: Drew is remembered in family-loving, isolationist Quebec as the man who agitated for conscription and hurled all those veiled, and not so veiled, insults at French Canada. He is still detested as the Ontario politician who deliberately opposed the legislation granting "baby bonuses" because it helped the Quebecers' large families. Duplessis, hardly a popular figure anywhere outside of Quebec, is regarded with suspicion because his frequent inflammatory utterances on political autonomy and Dominion-Provincial relations seemingly lead to separation or secession of the province he heads.

The irony of the situation is that both men are in large part responsible for the vicious sectional prejudices that are proving such stumbling blocks on their road to power. Still the need for each other is so great that the risk has been waived. If the adage is true that a federal party must carry Quebec in order to gain power, then George Drew is sure of defeat in the next election unless he can do something fast. To swing the voters of that province behind him he definitely cannot, and does not, depend upon the impotent Quebec Conservative party, which has elected exactly one member in the past fifteen years. Just how then does Drew intend to do this? That is where the fine hand of Duplessis comes in.

As for Quebec's shrewd, calculating Duplessis, what is his stake in the game? He is personally an intensely ambitious man, whose aim is to be sole master of Quebec's destinies. The presence of Liberals in that province's federal ridings prevents him from assuming complete control, and the daily increasing stature of Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent threatens to check these ambitions, and indeed give a whole new direction to French Canadians. Duplessis must curb the Liberals and St. Laurent, and looks upon Drew as a logical and necessary ally in his bid for federal power.

The problem remains, how can this alliance of contradictions and paradoxes occur without the whole movement backfiring in its sponsors' faces? In Quebec the very forces that most ardently oppose English Canada and the imperialistic thought which Drew represents constitute the backbone of Duplessis support. A way out is being sought by a slick

job of public relations that is grooming Drew, of all people, as a nationalist in the best Quebec tradition. His speeches here dwell upon the "language rights" of French Canadians, and are replete with such Quebec favorites as "autonomy" and "provincial rights." In this province George Drew scrupulously says and does the right things. A case in point is this extract from the *Montreal Standard* of October 31, 1948: "Drew spoke under the shadow of the Quebec coat of arms, flanked by the Quebec fleur-de-lis and the Canadian Red Ensign . . . Huge photographs of the new leader which decorated the walls, were surrounded by more Quebec flags."

Apart from, and more significant than Drew's personal efforts to redeem himself in the eyes of Quebecers is the tacit support given him by all the numerous National Union (Duplessis) propaganda outlets. Hardly a day goes by but there is not some article or editorial cautiously praising Drew. Montreal's *Le Matin* refers frequently and favorably to him. National-Union-financed "throwaway" journals, which previously appeared only before elections, now have suddenly reappeared, and they, too, contain obviously planted writeups praising Drew. For example, *Echo-Journal*, one of the latter types of publication, has in a recent issue in big, black type: "George Drew Comes to Town," and in an assumed objective tone tells how well he was received, how his lovely wife speaks French, and in another article makes enthusiastic note that he spoke under the flag of Quebec, and remarks upon the wild acclaim given him by his followers.

But his anonymous supporters, though trying ever so hard, are by no means sure that the former Ontario premier can ever be entirely whitewashed. A reflection of the precariousness of Drew's political foothold in Quebec is seen in the continued policy of avoiding the mentioning, in N.U. journals, of Drew and Duplessis, National Union and Conservative, in any way that would link the two. Every attempt is made to persuade the reader that the pro-Conservative articles are merely objective reporting jobs.

Indeed it is highly unlikely that careful Duplessis, who must sense the unpalatability of his would-be partner, will ever come out in the open and plump for Drew. A more subtle scheme is intended to circumvent the touchy issue of a Drew alliance when it comes time to prepare for the next federal election campaign, a scheme that will serve the same purpose but will allow both to retreat gracefully should plans miscarry.

Ostensibly Drew will depend upon his inadequate, unpopular Conservative Party of Quebec to give him his required support there. In the meantime Duplessis and the National Union party will nominate many "independents" of the nationalistic, demagogic type that swept him into power last July. Party stalwarts like Ross Drouin, Leonard Seton, Noel Dorion and others, all have indicated already their intention to run as "independents." It is significant that those agreeing to run thus far are all former Conservatives who ditched the party in 1935 when they realized the futility of running as a Tory in Quebec. Assuredly these independents will meet only token opposition from the regular Conservatives. But they will shy away from any Drew party affiliation, following the tested, successful N.U. election recipe, two parts of autonomy and one dose of communist menace with every tablespoon of nationalism.

Once in Ottawa the independents would elicit from George Drew promises to guard the autonomy and provincial rights of the province. Drew, who has been practising lately how to talk like a Quebec nationalist, will most likely make a declaration that will warm the hearts of National Union supporters, and the "independents" will agree to support Drew in his attempts to form a government. These inde-

pendents may keep up the pretence of being unaffiliated, dissenting from Drew on minor issues, but would assuredly support him on matters of major policy.

The plan is ingenious, all the more so when it is considered how well it deals with an almost impossible situation. It provides Drew with a reasonable opportunity to win in this vital province, and allows Duplessis a fair chance to extend his domain from the provincial to the federal sphere. Moreover it has in its provisions a neat escape hatch. Neither has to worry about loss of personal or party prestige in the event of a loss, for neither has made so much as a declaration in the other's favor.

Exactly what are chances of this scheme being hatched successfully? In this observer's opinion it may boomerang for one of several reasons. Perhaps the conspiring politicians have counted out the admittedly weak Liberal party too soon. Perhaps they have calculated their election strategy without considering the strange dualistic outlook with which the Quebecer views his provincial and federal politics. Somehow the *habitant* reasons on a more elevated plane in federal balloting than in provincial. Demagogic appeals, nationalistic exhortations, and racial cries approved by the Quebecer in one campaign leave him unmoved in the other. Then, too, the recent Truman victory indicates that the days when political campaigns could be run on negative platforms has come and gone. The Americans want more than platitudes and promises; perhaps the Quebecers will too.

## Sub-Arctic Seasoning

John Nicol

PART I

► IT'S A LITTLE like the night before Christmas when one is young, this prospect of a plane arrival at our northern weather station. The runway is packed down hard by tractor-drawn rollers, the observers fidget with present wind and visibility, and we are subject always to the apparent whims of Air Transport Command, RCAF. The Eskimos pointed first; seconds later the rest of us ranged in the frosted shelter of the fuel-drums saw a "Dakota" in the middle-distance that means Churchill and railhead. There is excitement and considerable laughter, though nothing yet that's unrestrained—arrivals aren't counted until the plane is down and safely stopped—we've had them circle us regretfully and then turn back. This pilot, though, is an old familiar, so the guiding grunts of admiration that help him around and down by easy stages to a perfect landing in a scraping swirl of snow are personal and uninhibited. When the "kite" is unloaded and the mailbags distributed, it's like Christmas morning at any age: even the Eskimos get letters.

This trip the crew stayed overnight; at the prospect of company and strange faces round the table, mild hysteria takes hold—it doesn't take much to make a party. At other times we are abstaining men—the home-brew is presumed intoxicating, but has not proved so palatable that it has been put to serious test; besides, one needs an occasion. The after-dinner hours were boisterous and sustained—though the air-crew "hit the sack" early for their full quota of sleep, the hilarity continued. Less the lack of ladies and Lord Byron to report it, we were preparing for Waterloo; this, of course, we duly met—short of broken furniture, there were the usual inconveniences arising from excessive spirits.

One visitor reported that he rose in the night to solve a problem of personal hydraulics. Our privy normally would do credit to Chic Sale's "Specialist," for it is of generous

A member of the Department of Transport in the North-West Territories writes of his experiences in a part of Canada that few Canadians know anything about.

proportions; but the burly occupant already there had stretched full-length across three seats and sagged to sleep. Attempts to shift him aroused only growls of rage, before which the unfortunate possessor of the bulging bladder expediently withdrew, prepared to let it boil for a while longer. However, one hour later he was driven to try again, with no better result. In desperation he followed the strange corridor in the opposite direction seeking exit further in his emergency. The surface frigidity of the door he finally reached persuaded him it led outside—hurriedly he opened it—and his pyjama-clad figure was enveloped in fifteen feet of snow drifted over the unused side-entrance to the quarters. He towelled himself philosophically and returned to bed: things are sometimes tough in the Arctic.

Persistent do-gooders in the world outside may not appreciate the mental catharsis that results from a modest "drunk" in song-raising, tale-telling company, particularly for men deprived of women. The air seems clearer afterwards of the frictions generated in months of isolation. For the pages of our station calendars are removed in terms of (a) how long since we arrived and (b) how soon do we get out; the numerals refer (a) to weeks elapsed since last mail departure and (b) to days before rumors run again about the next arrival. The time between drips slowly through the faucet of a seven-day working week, routine is unvarying, and the mind steadily shrinks with lack of variety.

The men feed well and sleep too often; those not on shift seem to rise and go to bed with the sun—the time of year being what it is, this is not so arduous as it may sound. At all hours there is coffee-drinking in the kitchen and perpetual review of personal anecdotes to the point of grating boredom. Miles of words and nothing said—all in the interests of holding at bay the silence beyond the walls. Perhaps this dread of being alone stands next to need of sustenance in the catalogue of human prime-movers; reproduction of the race could be the by-blow of this urgency for company in the darkness.

Yet the frozen loneliness of these spaces is the basis of their rugged interest. The wind-packed snow creaks and chimes with the cold underfoot and the discord is almost visible in the stillness all round. There must be other movement—the Eskimos are trapping foxes here and hunting bear and seal out on the ice of the Bay—but the unaccustomed eye fails to see it. We did have an Arctic owl about the place, a white bird of soaring flight, but it was shot in idle folly. Otherwise, the rock and blown snow stretch to infinity, underscoring by their neutrality the color of sunrise and sunset, which are so near in terms of hours elapsed that they appear to merge. Before the daylight has faded in the south, the moon is hanging high and stars are through, providing light enough for work and travel.

The natives living nearby provide such winter transportation as we require. Though a friendly and gracious people themselves, they starve and maltreat their dogs in the belief that more work is produced that way. The sled or "kam-motik" here consists of two scantlings ten-feet long and two-foot cross-pieces lashed to these runners about six inches apart: a bear or caribou skin is flung over as upholstery. The dogs are leashed at varying lengths from the sled, staggered in depth and spread fanwise ahead.



The driver sits side-saddle at the front, prepared to steer past obstacles by lifting the sled bodily in a combined lunge of arms and kicking feet.

On hard and levelled snow, the team pulls at the agreeable pace of six or seven miles an hour; progress is maintained at any time by continued grunts of encouragement from the driver; equal division of the labor is ensured by judicious application of his short-handled, thirty-foot cariboo whip to the legs of laggards. There is exhilaration in skimming so closely to the snow, although more than the sled is soon set in motion. Exercise thaws the huskies into renewal of their natural functions, until the air at breath-taking level heaves thickly with the foggy richness of digesting walrus flesh. The north indeed breeds strength.

## O CANADA

Victor Podoski, former Polish minister to Canada and now with the Labor Department in Ottawa, forecast great events in 1949. "It will be a most important year, more important than 1948. I cannot say whether there will be war or peace, but of this I am sure: the world is at a crossroads and within the next 12 months we will go one way (peace) or the other (war)." (The Evening Citizen, Ottawa)

"Keep your heads high. Look at the sky and everything will be well with you." With this cheery message, some 450 aged people and transients Thursday evening left the Eaton building here where they had been guests at dinner of the Salvation Army. (Winnipeg Free Press)

Con. Leslie Saunders maintains there are plenty of houses being erected in North Toronto. "Those that can't afford to buy them, that's their tough luck. I owned my own house before I even got married," he stated today. (Toronto Star)

Port Hope, Jan. 17.—A strong protest against playing the national anthem at hockey games to stop fights was made today by the IODE and the Port Hope Branch of the Canadian Legion. Three times fights broke out last Wednesday in a game between Port Hope juveniles and Peterboro and each time the national anthem was played over the loud speaker system to restore order. (Toronto Star)

Port Colborne, Jan. 16 . . . Brushing aside the edict of the congress [of labor] that the smelter union must withdraw from the Timmins area because it failed to organize the workers, the smelter delegates here today accused the congress of cannibalism and declared that the union would not capitulate to CCL dictatorship. (Globe and Mail)

Niagara Falls, Ont., Jan. 17.—Freedom of enterprise is synonymous with freedom of the spirit, and "no man can remain half slave and half free," Henry G. Birks of Montreal, president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, said here tonight. . . . "The groups who are trying to overthrow freedom in Canada, the Socialists and their zealous supporters, the Communists, are led in part by those who have failed to make headway in their own calling," Mr. Birks said. "They are envious, frustrated and covetous. Failing under free conditions, they are determined to undermine and destroy those free conditions in the hope that they themselves will realize satisfaction, oblivious to the general misery which is the inevitable price for attainment of their ambitions." (Globe and Mail)

This month's prize of a six month's subscription goes to Mrs. Gordon H. Josie, Ottawa, Ont. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication.

## On the Air Allan Sangster

▶ A SHORT STORY, in the opinion of any literate person unconnected with radio, is a fictional work of any length up to ten thousand words. A short story, in the opinion of any radio worker, however literate, is a fictional work which contains, or can be made to contain, about twenty-two hundred words.

The CBC currently presents two story programs for adults: Canadian Short Stories (Friday, 8.45 p.m., T-C Network) and Bernie Braden Tells a Story (Monday

through Friday, 2.00 p.m., T-C Network). Both occupy fifteen minutes (2200 words); together they use, annually, more than three hundred original stories by Canadian writers. Both have proved popular and durable: Canadian Short Stories has run with few interruptions since the fall of 1946; the Braden programme with no interruptions since the first of November, 1947.

Canadian Short Stories is presented directly by the Department of Talks and Public Affairs, which selects the stories, engages readers from the coterie of Toronto actors, and produces the broadcasts, as a rule excellently. Bernie Braden Tells a Story is, as the title suggests, to some extent a "personality" show; the stories are selected, sometimes re-written, read, and in some part produced by the radio actor and writer Bernard Braden. Mr. Braden makes this comment: "It is worth noting, though, that the mere fact of my having *carte blanche* in the choosing of stories that I read is a comment on CBC policy. At no time have I been interfered with in any way, except on those occasions when I asked for editorial advice."

Against this it should be noted that some members of the talks department have, in conversation, exhibited a little pique over the fact that all story programs are not more directly under their control. To digress a little further, this kind of jealousy is somewhat too rampant in CBC circles; it has on other occasions caused the elimination of free-lance programs which were, both by audience response and in the opinion of some CBC executives, better than anything then being supplied from within the organization. As will be seen later, there is reason to hope that nothing of the kind happens here.

Canadian Short Stories, to quote from the information given to intending contributors, "hopes to provide an outlet for creative radio writing . . . discourages stories written to a popular formula or pattern . . . looks for writing of a high artistic level which will hold the interest of the average, intelligent listener." It also, to quote the present editor and the senior producer, "is much influenced by a desire to present stories which will be representative of all national regions and which will appeal to all native types."

The Braden series, perhaps less pretentiously, merely seeks to provide entertainment, with some deference to the women who, presumably, make up the bulk of its daytime audience. As Mr. Braden says: "My so-called 'Women's Audience' controls my selection in that it represents a variety of tastes, preferences, and prejudices. I try in the course of a week to cater to the tastes and preferences, to ignore the prejudices, and to provide at least one story which will be thought-provoking and stimulating . . . The point is that five such stories, read consecutively, would cut down our audience. That, of course, is our eternal compromise . . . Putting it simply, I broadcast stories that I like myself, in the hope that others will like them too."

Recently this eternal compromise has been too much in evidence, with resultant deterioration in story quality. With this exception, in the opinion of this constant and intent listener, the Braden series is slightly more successful than Canadian Short Stories. True, the Braden lows are lower than anything heard on the other program—some of them trite to the point of nausea—but the highs are as high and the average entertainment value a good deal higher.

One reason for this is inseparable from the editorial attitude of Canadian Short Stories; its rejection of "stories written to a popular formula or pattern" overlooks the fact that certain formulae and patterns have become popular because they do produce good stories. It may be that this series has set itself too high a goal, that stories of the desired kind and quality are simply not being written in



the country. And yet I have seen a very fine story, by one of the best stylists among Canadian writers, rejected on the ground that the style (very carefully selected to fit the story content) was so commonplace as to be in itself almost a cliché. This same story was rejected by Mr. Braden with the opinion that the writing was magnificent but the story itself too strong for his audience.

This brings up another important point: the extreme infrequency with which anything approaching a strong story, a story with real guts, is heard on either series. Mr. Braden, despite his women's audience, does occasionally take a chance, but far too many Canadian Short Stories are in the "folksy" category. Village or rural domestic tales abound; stories of pawky humor or of cracker-barrel characters and philosophers are frequently heard; stories with perceptible plot and point are scarce.

Both series seem to maintain at least a pint-sized specimen of one of radio's oldest sacred cows (happily banished by the Drama Department): the belief that nothing which would shock the most innocent, let alone cause a sophisticate to raise an eyebrow, should ever be heard on the air. This is no plea for stories of the Dwight Fiske type, but there is a place, surely, for the forthright and vigorous story which treats of life as we live it and points up a real, even if shocking, situation.

Finally, it should be noted that although Canadian writers of established reputation seldom appear on these stories, the literary and artistic level of the best stories is far higher than is usually found in Canadian magazines.

In spite of its proved value as entertainment, proved by the steady popularity of story-telling over three thousand years, the told story, as distinct from the dramatized one, has been slow to find a place in radio. Now that CBC has made so commendable a start, here are suggestions which might be considered for the future:

Higher fees, to attract more and better writers. A regularly scheduled half-hour story period, so that the great wealth of regular-length short stories may be available to radio. An experimental "Author's Choice" series, so that Canadian writers may have a chance to present their best work unhampered by radio taboos, standards, or sacred cows. One of these ideas, I am happy to report, is within sight of realization. Beginning on February 9, and once a month thereafter, CBC Wednesday Nights will present a half-hour story, selected from the world's great works in this form.

## The Secret

(SHORT STORY)

*Frances Hall*

► "SHALL WE HAVE the installation before the program and get it over with; or shall we have it at the end, just before we serve tea, as if it was the climax?" Marybelle, as past president of Omega Chapter, was the installing officer for the occasion, and she was feeling her responsibilities.

"Let's have it after the program. Let's really make something of it. After all, it's the purpose of the meeting," suggested the incoming president, much aware of her impending honor.

"No, we'd better have it first," said the parliamentarian, who had been elected to the same post every year since the chapter had been organized and who was therefore the final authority on how things ought to be done. "We have a lot of guests here today for the music and the tea. It will be

far less awkward for them if we simply leave them in the garden while we hold our installation. If we have the program first and then ask them to go out while we conduct the ceremony, they're bound to mind it a bit, at least some of them."

Sue Margaret, who had finally agreed to take on the thankless job of treasurer, looked up sharply. "You mean our guests have to wait outside while we hold the installation?" she asked. "It seems to me that last year—"

"No, dear," the parliamentarian was always very sweet about imparting her knowledge, "only the other members may constitute the audience, at least for installations and initiations."

"Why?" demanded Sue Margaret.

The parliamentarian stammered a moment, caught off guard by the question. "Because—well, because it's a secret organization, a sorority."

"You know, I've always wondered about that," said Sue Margaret. "I guess I didn't listen too carefully the night I was being initiated. I was too busy trying to keep my candle from dripping on my dress. But I don't know what the secret of this organization is."

There was a distinct sniff from Caroline, the corresponding secretary. It said as plainly as the words themselves could have done that they had been fools to take this youngster, only a year or two out of college, into their chapter. A certain maturity was needed, along with the brilliance. Caroline herself had objected at the time; but the others had talked about the need of young blood. And of course since the others had seemed so determined, she had not made a point of blocking the action. You see now, however, said the sniff. You see!

"That's what I'm trying to tell you," said the parliamentarian. "The rituals of initiation and installation are the secret. That's why we can't have non-members present."

"What's different about our rituals?" demanded Sue Margaret. "You mean those old things are all that keep us from being just an ordinary club?"

The incoming president drew a troubled breath. "Surely not, dear. We're an organization of very lofty ideals. We do a lot of good—our scholarships, our gifts to the needy in Europe—"

"But there's nothing secret about that," objected the girl. "We have a publicity chairman to see that our good works get in all the papers."

The parliamentarian stood up abruptly. She could feel her own pleasantness turning to vinegar, and she resented this upstart who was serving as the transmuting agent. "There are many things about our organization we do not impart to outsiders—our membership—"

"We all wear our keys . . . we're required to." Sue Margaret knew she was being ill-mannered and stubborn, but somehow she could not let the matter drop. She stood, young and thin, and determined in her pink formal which it had seemed so silly to be wearing in the middle of the afternoon, and looked straight at the others out of her hazel eyes. "We try to get the pictures of our initiates in the society columns. We issue an annual bulletin listing the achievements of the various chapters and the individual members. There's no secret about who belongs or what we do. I'll bet nobody here can tell what the secret really is. I'll bet there isn't one."

The little group of incoming and outgoing officers, clustered about the table whereon stood the heavy brass candlesticks of the chapter, ready to be lighted for the impending ceremony, looked uneasily at one another and held their peace.

"Well, I'm sure—" said the past president brightly, "any one of us will be glad to discuss that with you another time. Right now we have the installation to worry about, and we're late as it is."

The parliamentarian looked up at the gilt clock on the mantel and clucked an anxious tongue as she saw in the mirror behind it the amazing angle her pompadour had got to. "We'd better have the ceremony right away, girls," she said, shoving her unruly hair hastily into place. "Sue Margaret, you run out into the garden and quietly shoo the members inside. Tell them it won't take five minutes. Their guests won't even miss them. Are the records on the phonograph, ready to supply the music? Anybody got a match to light the candles?"

An instant of stage fright beset the corresponding secretary. "What page is the ritual on?" she wailed. "We can't begin till I find the place."

The incoming president, however, had her mind on other things. With a curiously reflective look she gazed for an instant at the grand piano, with its music laid out ready for the soprano soloist; and the tea table in the dining room beyond, with its lace tablecloth, its silver spread in toothy rows, its platters of sandwiches and small pink cakes; at her companions bustling into their proper positions. In the garden she could see Sue Margaret moving down one path and up another, breaking up the small groups, setting the bright-colored dresses in motion.

"You know," said the incoming president in the voice which she used when she was really struck by an idea, "that girl's got something. I must write to the National in Washington about it."

"About what, dear?" asked the installing officer, patiently pushing the incoming president into position behind the right-hand candlestick.

"Yes, dear, about what?" asked the corresponding secretary, jealous of her prerogative of handling all correspondence.

"About the secret," said the incoming president, with the odd look still in her eye. "About the secret."

## Film Review

D. Mosdell

► "CANST THOU NOT minister to a mind diseased, Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow?" A couple of years ago the English made a film called *Bedlam*, whose glimpses of eighteenth century asylums and the inhuman and appallingly negative treatment of the insane in those days remind us that until comparatively recently nobody ever really tried. In a way *Bedlam* made us almost welcome subsequent Hollywood pictures like *Suspense* and *Lady in the Dark*, based on the singular goings-on of expensive Park Avenue psychoanalysts and their fashionably neurotic patients. Inaccurate and absurd though these were, it is possible that they contributed, in their zany way, to more responsible efforts which were and are currently being made to rid the suggestible public of the ancient notion that there is something shameful and disgusting about mental illness, and to accustom them to the idea of having confidence in, or at least familiarity with, the possibility of psychiatric treatment.

With *The Snake Pit*, however, we begin to get down to brass tacks. No one would, I think, call it either art or entertainment: the individual case history, acted out competently by Olivia de Havilland, is too pat and familiar, too rigidly tailored to the popular idea of the Freudian

pattern; and the patients in the background are too lightly sketched, too numerous, and too hopelessly static in their functional position as backdrop for the main story. In fact, the picture has the somewhat secondary impact of a documentary: if we are impressed or moved, it is by the information we receive; for once the actors are less important than what they have to convey. Because of this slightly clinical quality in *The Snake Pit*, most people will emerge from the theatre more thoughtful than emotionally stirred; and their thoughts will not be soothing. It appears from the film that in state hospitals for the insane it is the unusual patient who receives the most adequate attention. Moreover, even under the most favorable conditions available, additional hazards for the helpless inmates are created by impossibly crowded quarters and by the activity of overworked staff members who, because they are in general badly underpaid, are frequently quite unsuitable material for an already difficult profession.

Judging by *The Snake Pit*, the outlook for any mental patient who is not, so to speak, Olivia de Havilland, and who cannot afford individual treatment outside a state institution, is none too bright; yet the fact remains that without a sufficient sum of money, no alternative is possible. The general public may lose their irrational horror of mental illness itself, and still dread the slow torture of inadequate treatment in the only places open to them for service; the resemblance between *Bedlam* and the "worst" wards in *The Snake Pit* is too close for comfort.

The impact of the original novel is more personal and immediate than that of the film, because from the beginning the points of view of the patient and of the reader are as nearly identical as the author's considerable talent allowed. The film audience's point of view is almost entirely that of the spectator, surveying the patient, the sagacious fox-terrier face of the psychiatrist, and the gyrations of the hopelessly lost—all from a point well outside the action. Ah well, next time, perhaps, Hollywood may attempt to make an American optimistic *Caligari* . . .

\* \* \*

P.A.Q. Gillan, of Hull, Quebec, submits a "minority" report on Hamlet:

"Now that Olivier's *Hamlet* has been for several months at the first-run theatres and the public has got its breath back, it may be safe to present a minority report on this film. The critics' uncritical commendation has been so nearly unanimous that I feel some trepidation at suggesting that *Hamlet* has certain serious flaws. I happen, however, to be convinced not only of this but also that the film fails to establish the claim to being the definitive modern version ("for which we have all been waiting," so to speak).

"What may have been the experience at *Hamlet* of the 'average' film-goer I cannot do more than guess; probably the majority did not attend. In any case, it could hardly have had less to do with the aesthetic emotion than that described to me by most of the people to whom I talked who had seen the film—an experience evidently summed up justly enough in a row of ! ! ! ! ! expressive of admiration, awe and a slight shudder.

"Indeed, the reception of this *Hamlet* version casts doubt in my opinion on the familiarity of public and critics alike with the text of the play. The type of review published in most newspapers and not a few magazines suggests either that most reviewers had not re-read *Hamlet* before visiting the picture or that they had performed that task very inattentively. Almost to a man, critics displayed a singular indifference to the violence that had been done the text in order to produce the film version. *Hamlet*, in Shakespeare's version a thoroughly puzzling character, emerges in Olivier's

version as a completely unintelligible one . . . Now, Shakespeare's explanations for Hamlet's indecision are admittedly not simple, and indeed, sometimes contradictory; but nothing is gained by omitting most of them, as Olivier has done. Hamlet is not at all the uncomplicated personality depicted in the film. The lines and passages cut from the play almost all underscore this fact . . . Why were the passages which explain the nature of Hamlet's malaise omitted in the favor of the delightful but unessential speech to the players?

"Now, all the omitted passages complicate, while they reveal, the personality of Hamlet. They suggest that his distress stems from an intense ennui, a disgust of some sort (never very clearly described by Shakespeare, to be sure), that antedated the murder of his father and his mother's guilt. This sickness of mind (of philosophic origin?) is intensified (not engendered) by the events of the play. It depends, unfortunately, for its exposition to the audience on the very speeches missing from the film.

"This failure (or was it *refusal*?) to meet the challenge of Hamlet's personality as given in the play is a serious fault in the film. The meaning of the play has been left out with the lines intended to communicate it. What is left is a spectacle of action with interludes of magnificent verse; but neither action nor verse adds up to anything comprehensible.

"Why did Olivier cut the text so damagingly? The suspicion occurs to me that he wanted to clip the main character to the shape best suited to his own acting style. . . . I have called the film an affair of spectacular action and gorgeous verse. It is, in fact, the result of the endeavour to wed two powerful media—film and dramatic verse. Shakespeare's blank verse is an expressive medium, designed to convey the plot to the audience primarily by way of hearing . . . But this is not a function that the film, as film, can grant to the verse. For film is creative in its own right and is improperly used as an *accessory* to another medium. Yet it seems to me obvious that, if a clashing of effects is not to occur, one medium in such an association must be subordinate to the other. Either the 'camera-eye' will remain motionless, passive, during declamations and soliloquies, or it will interfere to distract the audience from the sounds of the verse . . ."

Mr. Gillan is sincere, intelligent, and almost completely wrong; but he represents a point of view which is by no means that of a minority, and deserves to be heard; nowhere more appropriately, we feel, than in the columns of a magazine which calls itself "*The Canadian Forum*."

## Recordings

Milton Wilson

► ONE OF THE FUNCTIONS of recorded music (indeed, for the experienced listener, its most important function) is to provide us with the opportunity of hearing at intervals important works which, in the ordinary course of events, we would probably never hear at all. There may be some cities in the world where the listener can, after a careful scanning of musical notices, hear most of the music he wishes, but they are certainly few, and, for the most of us, Mozart's *Così fan Tutte* and many of his best piano concertos, the majority of Haydn's last symphonies, and, among modern works, such things as *Pierrot Lunaire* and *The Symphony of Psalms*, exist only on records. This year, after having listened at intervals to the Beecham recording of Haydn's superb *Symphony No. 99* for about ten years (it was the first complete symphony I ever bought), I at last heard a live performance by the Rochester Philhar-

monic. Recently, I heard for the first time the *St. John Passion*, but, unfortunately, there is no complete recording of this work, so I will be lucky if I hear it again before 1960.

If recorded music is to fulfil its natural function, it should not merely let us hear at a convenient time music which, with little effort, we could hear over and over again on the radio or, many of us, in the concert hall; it should provide musical experiences which would be unobtainable by other means. There are plenty of people who want to hear *Alceste*, *Fidelio* or *The Childhood of Christ*, but enough of them are not likely to exist in the same community so as to make a performance feasible. Records, however, appeal to listeners not of one community but of the whole world.

If I look at my own collection of records and ask myself what ones I would least like to lose, I find that they are not always the greatest works or the finest recordings, but those which I will rarely hear except on records. Among operatic sets, for example, the ones I would prefer not to give up are *Dido and Aeneas*, *Orpheus*, *Così fan Tutte*, *Eugene Onegin*, *Falstaff* and *Parsifal*. Among choral works (incredible as it may seem) I would rather have *The Dream of Gerontius* than the *St. Matthew Passion*, which I will hear often enough anyway.

Fortunately, as my illustrations show, recording companies are not always content to duplicate music that can be heard elsewhere and give us endless performances of the *Eroica* and the *Pathétique*. But there still are a great many works which are crying out for recorded performance, such as *Fidelio*, *Idomeneo*, the *St. John Passion*, and another opera of Gluck's (*Alceste* or one of the *Iphigenies*). Among recent recordings of generally unavailable works Columbia

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has released the Berlioz *Requiem*, and I am hoping that Canadian Columbia will make it available here as well as in the States.

## CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor: In your editorial on the recent by-elections, you say: "Perhaps it would be as well if the CCF did not insist on challenging the rather pleasant practice of allowing acclamation in such cases" (i.e., those of party leaders and Cabinet Ministers). Since when has this become a "practice," pleasant or otherwise? As far as Cabinet Ministers are concerned, it is pure fantasy. From Confederation till the by-elections in Algoma East and Marquette, there had been thirty-eight cases in which Ministers seeking election to the House of Commons had been opposed. The Ministers in question included such important men as Joseph Howe, Sir Francis Hincks, Sir Wilfrid Laurier (who was defeated in one such by-election), Sir George Foster, Sir Charles Tupper, Mr. King, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. St. Laurent, Mr. Gregg and General McNaughton. There appears to have been eighty-three acclamations just after general elections (under the old law requiring by-elections in such cases), and forty-two acclamations in other ministerial by-elections.

As for party leaders chosen when their party was in opposition, here is the list: Blake, Laurier, Borden, King, Manion, Hanson, Meighen, Bracken, Drew. Blake, Laurier, Borden, Manion and Hanson all had seats already. Mr. King got an acclamation in Prince, P.E.I.; Mr. Bracken did not seek a seat in a by-election; Mr. Meighen was opposed. So here your "pleasant practice" boils down to one case!

Professor Ferns' final article on Mr. King also contains some statements in which comment is in order. Speaking of Mr. King's famous (or infamous) "Colorado plan," he says: "King came into the picture not as a strikebreaker, but as a man charged by the employers with the responsibility of showing the management how to put labor relations on a civilized basis. King succeeded." Whether there was actually a strike at any of the plants Professor Ferns mentions, at the time when Mr. King was called in, I cannot say. Perhaps there wasn't, and so Mr. King could not, strictly, be called a "strikebreaker." But he certainly could be called the father of company unionism on this continent, though no one reading Professor Ferns would ever guess it. Professor Ferns can find the facts, fully documented, and never challenged, in an article of mine in *The Canadian Forum* for November, 1941. That article disposes also of Professor Ferns' extraordinary statement that "early in life" Mr. King "established himself as a leader of . . . the working class."

Professor Ferns says Mr. King "suppressed the IWW." I should very much like to see the evidence for this. Is it possible that he has mixed up the UMW, which was the organization involved at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (Professor Ferns has its name backward), with the IWW? This is the first time I ever heard of Mr. King's having any dealings at all with the IWW.

Eugene Forsey, Ottawa, Ont

The Editor: I was very much interested in the article, "Canada—To Be or Not To Be," by David Conde, in a recent issue of *The Canadian Forum*. Although I have passed twenty-five years in Canada, not out of it, with only brief visits to the United States, I have had very similar considerations as his. His gloom is delightful—a tonic to one who can no longer digest the clichés about Canada's relations with the United States. But unlike him, I have arrived at conclusions about Canada's future which allow me to regard the problem with some equanimity.

I was awakened to the real danger of what Mr. Conde calls "American cultural aggression" when I visited the United States about a year after the conclusion of the war, and realized to what an extent I had been dwelling, psychologically speaking, in that country.

On my return to Canada, I decided, as a matter of principle, to cease reading American magazines, attending American movies, and listening to American radio programs, and to devote some time to discovering the mind of Canada. To do this I turned to our history and literature, since contemporary expressions are best understood by reference to the past. I probed Canada's literature, I puzzled over her history. I did not neglect to glance at the evolution of the British Commonwealth. In the process I discovered our heritage, something little known and not widely appreciated, and I am still discovering it, because now that I know what it is, I can see it working powerfully although obscurely in the life of the nation today.

I disagree with Mr. Conde's conclusion that "a political movement built around a program of firmness to the United States and domestic reform" should be pledged to make the Canadian standard of living equal to or higher than that of the United States. In my view this objective is highly impractical, if not impossible to attain. Our natural resources do not begin to compare with those of the United States. Moreover, Mr. Conde makes the contemporary left-wing thinker's common mistake in estimating the wealth of a nation in terms of its material standards. I would like to suggest that the true wealth of a nation has never consisted in its material treasures but in the mind and spirit of its people—in precisely those intangibles of which the American is so oblivious.

It is certainly time that the writers and thinkers of Canada should begin to speak the truth, or some part of it, with regard to our relations with the United States. In my opinion, the Canadian people are today struggling rather blindly toward a condition of self-awareness necessary to any sense of nationhood. Our greatest need is for liberation from the American psychological and cultural nexus—a liberation which must be the work of writers, artists, thinkers and poets who have begun to grasp the significance of Canada's particular destiny.

Elizabeth R. Hudson, Toronto, Ont.

The Editor: Your disposal of the British steel nationalization bill in an editorial about on a par with what one would expect from Wellington Jeffers in the *Globe and Mail* must have come as rather a surprise to a good many *Forum* readers—particularly those in England.

For my part, I should like to make only one or two comments. It seems obvious from the statement that the steel industry in Britain is to be nationalized "for the sake of nationalization" that the editorial writer had not taken the trouble to make any real investigation into the question nor even to read the Cole pamphlet which is mentioned. I should like to recommend, in addition, a series of articles which appeared in *Tribune*, on July 30, 1948, (p. 7); Aug. 6 (p. 7); Aug. 13 (p. 9); Aug. 20 (p. 7).

### CHANGE OF ADDRESS

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THE CANADIAN FORUM

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It may also interest you to know that one of the main reasons why the industry has maintained a high level of production during the past year and more is that the steelworkers—the men who actually do the producing—agreed to work a continuous working week in the melting shops. In fact, the suggestion came from their union and 750 members who refused to abide by the decision were expelled. Furthermore, thanks to this “not . . . inefficient” industry, of 40 plants involved, less than a third were able immediately to introduce the continuous working week; the others lacked the necessary technical equipment.

The nationalization bill deserves fuller treatment from a periodical like *The Canadian Forum*. It should not be impossible to find someone competent for the job.

Margot Thompson, Toronto, Ont.

The Editor:

In launching the first nationwide observance of Brotherhood Week in Canada from February 20 to February 27, 1949, may I suggest that we are most enthusiastic about the way our efforts have been received. The Canadian Council of Christians and Jews marked its first anniversary in November, but its American counterpart, the National Conference of Christians and Jews has been thriving in the United States for the past twenty years.

The international organization, known as the International Council of Christians and Jews, dates its beginning to August, 1946, when a conference was held at Oxford University out of which developed a permanent world organization with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. Mrs. Ellen O'Gorman Duffy, who visited Toronto and other Canadian cities last October was a delegate from the United States to the Oxford Conference. Scores of distinguished clergymen and laymen of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths were in attendance. One of the principal addresses was given by Bernard Cardinal Griffin, Archbishop of Westminster who is now one of the honorary presidents of the British Council of Christians and Jews.

The purpose of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews is briefly to promote justice, amity, understanding, and co-operation among the numerous racial and religious groups of our country. It is interested in building brotherhood among all men of good will. It is a civic organization that is motivated by the spirit of religion. On its numerous committees are both laymen and clergymen of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths. The Council does not aim at any sort of union or amalgamation of religious bodies or at modifying any of the distinctive beliefs of its members. It does not hold that “one religion is as good as another.” It does aim to analyze, moderate and if possible to eliminate intergroup prejudices that distort and disfigure religious, political, business and social relations to the end that we may one day enjoy a real brotherhood of man. Among those who have already stated their support of Brotherhood Week are Prime Minister The Honorable Louis St. Laurent, The Most Rev. George Frederick Kingston, Anglican Primate of Canada, The Most Rev. Gerald Berry, Bishop of Peterborough, members of the Supreme Court, leaders in educational and business life.

The Canadian Council is not endowed but depends for its support entirely upon those people who believe in its work and are willing to contribute to its support. If any readers of this letter wish additional facts on Brotherhood Week or the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews a letter to the national office at No. 4 Albert Street, Toronto will bring the desired information.

Richard D. Jones, Director, Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, Toronto, Canada.

## TURNING NEW LEAVES

► SOME DAY, NO DOUBT, an inquisitive social historian will think it worthwhile to explore the genetics of news dissemination in Canada. Such a study would go back to pre-Confederation days, examine the contemporary sources of our news, and follow the development in its presentation down to the present method of news-wholesaling which has so profoundly affected the quality of what our papers sell. It would assess the picture of events which Canadians have been given through the years by their newspaper press, and show its relation to reality. It would indicate, perhaps, how far the parochialisms, prejudices and distorted concepts which cramp our political and social life could fairly be ascribed to the kind of news we have fed upon. It would not, we fear, make pretty reading.

Meanwhile we are offered an exhaustive account of how Canadian publishers, after years of narrow individualism and indifference to national interests, reluctantly combined to increase the bulk (and incidentally lessen the cost) of their stock in trade.\* Even this is not without its points of illumination. In tracing the origins of The Canadian Press, the association through which Canadian dailies now obtain their basic non-local news, Mr. Nichols has disclosed a record of sectionalism and mutual jealousy among our newspaper publishers which does much to explain the character of their news columns, and is starkly symptomatic of the ills which plague our whole national life.

It was, of course, commercial self-interest which brought about this collectivization of newsgathering. But it took years for the self-interest of the lesser publishers to overcome the opposed self-interest of the greater and wealthier ones. It was not, indeed (as is usual in such cases), until a substantial government subsidy was forthcoming that the latter were constrained to devote some of their profits to a common undertaking which a world war had made more than normally desirable in the national interest.

It will come as a shock to most Canadians to learn that almost up to the end of the first decade of the present century the bulk of all but strictly local news in Canadian newspapers was supplied mostly by telegraph companies, who gathered or bought the news and edited it themselves, as well as transmitting it over their wires. One of them (the C.P.R.) furnished most of the non-Canadian news, which it purchased from the United States publishers' co-operative, The Associated Press, making its own selection. It is indeed difficult to understand how Canadian newspapers, only moderately prosperous though some of them may have been, could have remained content for so long with such a news supply. But it was cheap, and therefore satisfactory. The larger papers in metropolitan centres could of course pay for a better service; but even they, it seems, continued to make use of news gathered by station agents and telegraph operators completely untrained in newsgathering and beyond the control of the newspapers.

When the Winnipeg publishers did seek the co-operation of their prairie colleagues in an effort to pool the news they themselves gathered, the C.P.R. upped its rates for transmission of this rival supply. For a long time the Western publishers tried vainly to bring their fellows in Ontario and Quebec into a national news exchange system. The latter were at last spurred by apprehension to assist in fighting the C.P.R. in the courts. In the outcome the company abdicated its AP rights, which were taken over by the publishers as independent Eastern, Central and Western groups. But no progress in inter-regional news exchange

(Continued on page 260)

\* (CP) THE STORY OF THE CANADIAN PRESS, by M. E. Nichols; Toronto, Ryerson; pp. XVI, 327; \$5.00.

## Visiting Montreal

The streetcar squeaked on its springs like an old piano stool,  
The churches chattered and jangled melodiously all the morning,  
The outside staircases leaned against the houses like lovers' ladders.

Lawns were neat French poodles around the parks and playgrounds,

And children played tag in the streets clean as in a nursery.  
Then the brick houses in the side streets seemed like a sad brown photograph,

And the washing colored like flags on V-Day flapped in a breeze of melancholy.

The people read feature stories in the garrulous *Standard*  
And about themselves on page 3 of the *Star*.

Boys in new overalls, and girls pretty as parasols

Waited to transfer in the shallow, simple sun;

Youths white and bright as light bulbs,

Old men clean-shaven, clear-eyed, like carven cane-heads.

The bread trucks were progressive, and the advertisements talky or dignified:

Everything optimistic, clean, right-minded;

The traffic just inevitable, and space plentiful;

Billboards red, hips in the car-cards,

Fashions as gay as anywhere;

The radio singing the hour and the factory whistling like a boy.

O the Anglo-Saxons made one think of lads grown too big for their shorts,

And the French Canadians of farmers in Sunday clothes.

As I left, the city was waving its arms at me like a helicopter;

The Sun Life Building seemed a Jack-in-the-Box, and the Square a sand-lot for kids.

The people ran like spilt marbles over torn newspapers in the streets.

Everywhere, I saw new buildings rising

And industrial plants fermenting like busy bulbs, with dry and clattering seeds.

Louis Dudek

## The Bard

*Dedicated to the Sweet Singer of Canterbury Cathedral*

The singer roosts upon his wooden throne,  
piping to the dull clink of iron harps:  
the critic shines his pince-nez while he carps;  
and I am silent — sitting all alone.

In one far corner of the barren hall  
I sit, and listen: while the words he chants  
run singly through the air like frightened ants,  
and one by one into the silence fall.

The piper tweaks his piccolo of tin,  
and makes it squeak. The jews-harp twangs, He's cheeping  
a little hymn. I'm silent — but within  
I am remembering Milton, and I'm weeping.

Norman Newton

## Sonata

Here no tree trunks mass their singing strength,  
Rowdy in virility;  
Here no green leaves ring the noon  
In a thousand bells;  
Here no flutes of gold pierce trunks and leaves  
With sound of sun,  
But all is cold and still  
As an empty room.

Out in the fields the yellow butterflies  
Drift among asters.  
Down to the grass the sparrows stray  
In search of seed.  
Along the road the children move  
Across the sun.  
But here, the cold spawns cold  
In a barren room.

Is needed a shout or a dance, or a human hand  
Fearless to seek  
And steps to follow after  
And fingers to shape  
And eyes to turn toward perplexing brightness  
Of words and faces.

Let men regard the vigor of the trees  
And walk their avenues  
Proud in the singing of their earthbound feet  
And quick to hear  
Laughter of bells in their own earthborn creations,  
As sunny and warm and absurd  
As a furnished room.

Violet Anderson

## Advice to Innocents

When the gods come the half-gods go,  
Peering slyly from hooded eyes,  
With all their words like an empty drum  
And all their deeds just a vague surmise.

Those who look on the gods are blind  
To dirt and darkness in lower kin,  
Seeing the same strong heart and mind;  
The half-gods know this and sidle in.

Gilean Douglas

## Maybe I Oughtn't to Worry

People are so easily led, so ready to believe  
Anything plausible, well-turned, ingenious, odd,  
That one day, I fear, some idle comment, some specious  
sapience, some verbal gewgaw, some slightly  
felicitous phrase of mine will be taken as  
A message from God.

People are so gross, so totally concerned  
With sex, success, notoriety, sham,  
That one day, I fear, when inspiration is running  
like spring sap in my veins, spilling out into  
lines of startling significance and splendor  
No one will give a damn.

Geoffrey Vivien



was made until 1917. In that year, the wealthier publishers joined with their lesser brethren in seeking a subsidy of \$50,000 to permit the leasing of telegraph wires across Canada. This subsidy, granted as a war measure to foster national consciousness, and a longstanding subsidy of \$8,000 for cabled news from Britain (both, of course, bringing revenue to the telegraph companies) were renewed annually until 1923, when they were discontinued under fire from members of parliament who charged the publishers' association which had taken over the AP rights with being a restrictive monopoly. By that time the metropolitan publishers, beguiled by the subsidy into backing a national wire system, could not decently withdraw, though they seem to have contemplated such action. They bore, and still bear with occasional mutterings, the lion's share of costs which such a system imposes—and a system which becomes more and more dispensable to them as their ability to gather or buy news independently increases. It is not surprising, perhaps, that they should be all for economy when it comes to expanding CP's facilities for direct news reporting at home or abroad, or to paying adequate wages to editors and reporters on its staff. Thus it is that the bulk of Canada's external news still comes from a United States news co-operative, The Associated Press, supplemented by the British Reuters, both being edited by CP staffs in New York and London to conform as far as possible to Canadian tastes and points of view.

Much of what has been above is, of course, merely implicit in Mr. Nichols' account. Himself one of the "fathers" of The Canadian Press, he naturally shows the partiality of parents. But within limits, he is very frank; the reputations of certain eminent figures in the publishing world of Eastern Canada do not escape his caustic innuendoes. A great deal of the CP achievements he records, made mostly in the face of the commercial selfishness displayed by its wealthier members, is highly creditable. But by its very nature CP suffers from the defects of all news wholesaling. Its news cannot be frankly interpretive, yet it may by selection and treatment become subtly tendentious. It will inevitably be colored by the over-riding prejudices of those who collectively decree its policies; and these are a closely-

knit body of men to whom publishing is a business more or less like any other business, and with similar interests. No other business group in Canada is quite as secretive about its own affairs as is the group of publishers who comprise both The Canadian Press and The Canadian Daily Newspapers Association. And despite indignant denials, it might become exceedingly difficult for a prospective publisher who seemed likely to endanger the interests of an existing member to obtain the CP service, for which there is no effective substitute in the domestic news field in Canada.

What one really misses in Mr. Nichols' very interesting book is any convincing evidence that Canadian newspaper publishers as a class have ever been deeply concerned about the quality of the news they publish. Most of them seem to have accepted without qualm the news furnished by telegraph companies, because it was cheap. It was only when the cost of this news began to go up that they revolted. The more powerful of them, already benefiting from a government subsidy, refused to join in setting up a genuinely national news service until it became possible to obtain a further government subsidy; and the loss of this, despite the purported uneasiness it aroused in some, was apparently regarded with considerable heartburning—indeed, its withdrawal nearly wrecked the embryo leased-wire system.

The story of The Canadian Press is in many respects the story of Canada. News cooked for an American audience, and warmed over for Canadian consumption. Stories written by Americans and Englishmen for a home readership, bought at cheap syndicate rates and served up by Canadian magazines. Automobiles assembled in Canada largely from parts made in U.S.A. Ideas in education, statecraft and the arts derived from other nations and applied in Canada by imported practitioners. A profitable trade for middlemen, this second-hand business! Thus Canada remains a country where origination must go begging or seek due rewards elsewhere; a nation of brokers, where only the broker grows fat. Such, it would seem at times, is our manifest destiny.

C.M.

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MACMILLAN

## BOOKS REVIEWED

PENAL REFORM: Max. Grünhut; Oxford (Clarendon Press); pp. 486; \$7.50.

This comprehensive textbook covers the whole field of penal and reformatory treatment. It is based on the author's experiences as a penologist in Germany after World War I and his years of research in England. It is also most apparent that he has derived much from what he calls "the formidable American criminological literature of the inter-war period." The publisher's intimation that this is the first attempt in English to cover the penal field from all angles is probably true. That this text will become standard wherever there is serious study of penology can be predicted. The documentation and bibliographical notes are themselves of high utility.

In graphic style, one reads of the contributions of the John Howards and Elizabeth Frys to the more humane and effective handling of individuals deprived of liberty. Every generation seems to need such forthright reformers—"to keep the clock wound up"—as gains are quickly lost in this most misunderstood science. However—as the author points out—"In the endless stream of changing programs the same ideas seem to repeat themselves. The prisoner should be kept in safe custody, he ought not to leave the prison worse than when he entered it, but should be trained rather for an honest life in society; work should be useful and instructive; a gradual transition to life at large and an efficient after-care should help the ex-prisoner to fit in with

the community of law-abiding citizens." It seems tragic that each generation in each country has to rediscover these basic principles.

Individualization of treatment is discussed and illustrated. New social and legal aspects of punishment are evaluated. The causes of delinquency and crime are delved into in constructive fashion. Environmental issues are honestly faced, as when the author says: "A right combination of firmness and kindness, healthy affective links between the members of the family, and encouragement of constructive spare-time activities are more essential for a child's upbringing than social status and economic level, but those psychological conditions cannot fairly be expected to flourish in an overcrowded dilapidated house, among inhabitants haunted by utter insecurity, with the father frequently without employment and the mother overworked by household cares and the additional burden of being the principal breadwinner." There are excellent chapters on what prison does to the minds of men; on the complex problems of prison labor; on the treatment of female prisoners, juveniles, and adolescents, habitual criminals, and mentally abnormal persons. Non-institutional treatment is dealt with in such a manner as to command the attention of all thinking people in countries like Canada, where there is so little of it. Of special interest to those engaged in prison work should be the extended treatise on discipline. Those Canadians who still maintain that flogging is a necessary attribute of prison administration will be disappointed in the findings here. ("Corporal punishment brutalizes the prisoner and executioner alike. It breeds hatred and bitterness, uproots personal dignity, and frustrates any attempt at social readjustment. . . . Its preservation belies the reformatory purposes of the prevailing penal policy, and strengthens the cynicism which denounces the social and educational objects of penal reform as wanton self-deception.")

The author dismisses Canadian penology in three sentences, and it is apparent that he shares the general opinion of penologists abroad that our prison policy here is far from being an enlightened one. While this is still true of several aspects of it, especially in some of the provinces, nevertheless a great deal has been accomplished during the past three years in the furtherance of sound reformatory penal practices. Ottawa has, under new inspired leadership, begun to bring Canadian penitentiaries under a reformatory rather than a custodial regime. Much, also, has been accomplished in British Columbia, Saskatchewan, and Ontario. Perhaps the day will yet come when Canadians generally will give understanding and practical interpretation to the author's closing message: "In an almost forgotten corner, overshadowed by more spectacular (post-war) causes, penal reform is an attempt gradually to abandon the use of force and to handle the psychological and social problems of prevention and treatment in a new spirit of sober experience and personal devotion." *J. A. Edmison*

**THE EUROPEAN RECOVERY PROGRAM:** Seymour Harris; S. J. Reginald Saunders; pp. 309 (Harvard University Press); \$5.50.

In this era of voluminous reports, all that the interested layman in international affairs can do is to wait for an

expert to digest the mass of statistics and "white papers" and then hand out a thin pamphlet of some 300 pages containing the "crux" of the matter. Professor Harris has come through with flying colors and has produced a book which gives both form and reason to the vast amount of seemingly disjointed "facts" about ERP.

*The European Recovery Program* is a book that few people will read from cover to cover, but one that is most valuable as a reference. Professor Harris sums up his work in the foreword when he says: "He who must run while he reads may be content with the introductory chapter and the brief conclusion; the harassed Congressman, official, or business executive might be expected to read Part I; and the general reader and student unhurried might be sufficiently interested to read the entire book." The author has no particular partisan axe to grind, hence he can indulge in bringing our attention to the questions posed by the ERP without having to try to answer them in a partisan manner. A scholastic work tends to dampen the enthusiasm of both the proponents and opponents of the plan. Professor Harris states that the extension of aid is acting and will continue to act as a bulwark against communism, but goes on to warn us of the dangers of ERP becoming too much of a businessman's organization. "The ERP may serve as a catalyst, raising Europe's incomes by several times the United States investment. But to achieve this result the ERP should not become a subsidy program for American business and farmers seeking new markets, and the United States Government should support domestic policies (for example anti-inflation control) without which the ERP is doomed to failure."

A great amount of the support of ERP in the United States came from anti-socialist forces and we are reminded of the publications of the House Committee on Foreign Aid and remarks made on the British nationalization scheme, yet the committee proposes a super-plan for European industry under United States guidance that calls for a great deal in the way of standardization and "regimentation." This reviewer re-echoes the hope of the author that the heads of ERP will be able to withstand the pressure of thousands of businessmen, "well-intentioned but ignorant of the larger issues."

Professor Harris points out that even with recovery, Western Europe will not become self-supporting. Recovery has been quite effective so far, and with a "tightening of the belts" (after the style of England), continuation of aid, and no political upheaval it will continue. Inflation must be fought both at home and in Europe if progress is to be made, and even with this fight unsuccessfully conducted, there will probably still remain a large deficit of Western Europe with the United States.

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The ERP is neither a panacea nor a poison; Professor Harris's book looks at it objectively and writes about it in the same manner. One cannot find one's imagination fired by the style of the author's prose, but in spite of this, the story of the program is told clearly and in a manner that is conducive to thought.

M. Shubik

**BRITISH RULE IN PALESTINE:** Bernard Joseph; Public Affairs Press; pp. 279; \$4.50.

This book, written by a McGill graduate, who is now the military Governor of the Jewish-held part of Jerusalem, is a brilliant brief by a lawyer on behalf of the legal rights of his people to a homeland in Palestine. The question of legal rights and wrongs may have little bearing in the present situation in the Holy Land, but from a historical point of view it is important.

As a lawyer pleading a case, Dr. Joseph does not attempt to be unprejudiced. He believes that the Jews have both a moral and legal right to the state which they have now won by military action. This legal right is based on the invitation to the Jewish people by both British and Arab government leaders to resettle Palestine and create a Jewish National Home. Most people are acquainted with the British promises to the Jews, but few realize that the Arab governments also joined in these promises when the Palestine mandate was set up.

Emir Feisal, later King of Iraq, and head of the Arab delegation to the Peace Conference after World War I, declared in an official statement to Reuters Agency: "The two main branches of the Semitic family, Arabs and Jews, understand one another, and I hope that as a result of the interchange of ideas at the Peace Conference, which will be guided by ideas of self-determination and nationality, each nation will make definite progress towards the realization of its aspirations."

In a later letter to Felix Frankfurter, Feisal stated: "The Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement . . . We will do our best, so far as we are concerned, to help them through; we will wish the Jews a hearty welcome home . . . We are working together for a reformed and revived Near East, and our two movements complement one another. The Jewish movement is national and not imperialistic. Our movement is national and not imperialistic, and there is room in Syria for us both. Indeed, I think that neither can be a real success without the other."

It is one of the tragedies of our times that the British Tory Governments of the twenties and thirties successfully stirred up trouble between the two complementary national movements in an attempt to hold on to a military base in the Near East. This fact was stated and documented time and time again by the British Labor movement while it was in opposition. It is an even greater tragedy that the Labor Government of the U.K. should have continued this policy to the point of supporting a war of the Arab States against the Labor Government of Israel.

Dr. Joseph ends his book with a plea to which all men of good will should subscribe: "The unprecedented, inhuman massacre in our own time of six million Jews by the Nazis has fortified the deep-rooted Jewish conviction that the only hope of ending Jewish persecution in the future is by normalizing the position of the Jews as a nation, by having again a country of their own, a country in which they will be free to live their life as a people without the interference of others . . . The Arab nation has vast undeveloped areas with untold potentialities in which to pursue their national destiny. The Jewish people claim the same right to work out their own in little Palestine. Nothing more."

Martin Lipset

**A MAN CALLED WHITE:** Walter White; Macmillan; pp. 382; \$5.00.

This book has a threefold value: it is the biography of a very interesting man; it is a well-documented record of the various faces of racial prejudice in the United States; and it is an historical account of the Negro struggle to achieve a greater measure of equality over the past thirty years. Walter White is a real-life counterpart of Sinclair Lewis's Kingsblood: a white-skinned, blond-haired, blue-eyed man who is nevertheless classed as a Negro because somewhere, several generations back, one of his ancestors was colored. Although he is constantly taken for white he has refused to "pass" because he does not want to belong to a race that is guilty of the violence of race prejudice.

As secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Walter White probably has more information about the extent and variety of race prejudice than any other person. As a result of his personal investigations of lynchings and race riots he wrote *Rope and Faggot*, an exhaustive study of lynch psychology. In his vivid factual reporting of the unbelievably cruel and inhuman episodes in the history of the South there is material for hundreds of novels like *Strange Fruit* and *Native Son*. He himself has written two: *The Fire in the Flint* and *Flight*.

But the book is not primarily about the horrors of race hatred. Its main theme is the fight carried on by the NAACP to gain civil rights for the Negroes. This has been a many-sided battle: he details the struggle for the vote in primary elections, for equal educational opportunities, for anti-lynching legislation; the attempts to abolish discrimination in employment, in the armed forces, in housing, in health—in every aspect of life.

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It is a book which, once read, will not quickly be forgotten.

Edith Fowke.

**THE ROAD TO REASON:** Lecomte du Noüy; translated and edited by Mary Lecomte du Noüy; Longmans, Green & Co.; pp. 254; \$4.00.

In this work, as in his earlier *Human Destiny*, M. Lecomte du Noüy opposes science to religion and argues at length that the former alone can never supply a satisfactory philosophy of life. While "the observations of science are solid its interpretations are sometimes fragile," and the reader is warned "against the scientific mysticism that does not withstand an honest examination but that some people have tried to turn into a weapon against spiritual mysticism."

The author regards logical positivists and Marxists as his chief opponents, and takes no account of the persistent efforts of these two contemporary schools to distinguish themselves from each other. For as he views them, they both hold to the basic thesis that "the material world is the only reality." At the other extreme is the religious mystic who admits only "the reality of imponderable spiritual forces." The aim of the book is to find "a middle road, the Road to Reason, on which both science and religion can meet and work together for the creation of a spiritually and physically perfect man."

While M. Lecomte du Noüy gives ample evidence in his arguments of his acquaintance with the doctrines of modern science, the same cannot be said for his acquaintance with contemporary philosophy. He imputes to Bertrand Russell and the logical positivists, for instance, a naive "materialistic determinism" which is utterly foreign to their philosophies. This failure to represent fairly the philosophic doctrines the author professes to oppose is highly regrettable, and is sure to mislead the reader who is not equipped with a first-hand knowledge of the views in question.

Manley Thompson

**THE ESSENTIAL JAMES JOYCE:** with an introduction and Notes by Harry Levin; Clarke, Irwin (Jonathan Cape); pp. 534; \$3.25.

The English edition of Levin's excellent anthology of Joyce's work is now on the market. The format is in some ways better than the American production; it is compact, but not so compact as to give a crowded appearance to the printed page.

There is no need to discuss the actual content of the volume. Joyce is becoming accepted as one of the masters of English prose, and the public that cares for such matters has little need for a review of *A Portrait of the Artist . . .* or *Dubliners*. Levin's introductory material is competent and interesting. He does not attempt too much in the short notes—a failing of many editors—but merely concentrates on making a few indicative points which are then left for the reader to draw his own conclusions with reference to Joyce's work itself.

The editing is of the best possible kind. Generally anthologies are rather pointless, even misleading. Especially anthologies of prose. The collection of isolated lumps of prose has always seemed curiously dead. In this volume only

the selections from *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* are fragments; the rest of the material is complete: the collected poems, *A Portrait . . .*, *Dubliners*, and the play, *Exiles*. And even in the case of the selections, those from *Finnegans Wake* particularly, are, in a limited sense, complete in themselves, and some were originally printed as separate pieces by Joyce himself during the period of *Work in Progress*.

Owing to the controversy which surrounded, and still surrounds, Joyce's two major works, *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, the importance and excellence of his other work is too often neglected. To take one example, *Dubliners*, which is much more than merely another collection of short stories, has never been really appreciated or understood by Joyce's English audience. There is actually nothing else quite like *Dubliners* in English; there is no other book so precise yet so evocative in its presentation of the modern city. In French literature there is, I believe, a definite class: *le roman urbain*. Its single major representative in English is *Dubliners*.

It is significant that a great contemporary artist should be represented by such an almost all-inclusive volume so soon after his death. It attests, in some degree, to the position of importance which Joyce holds in English literature. This new edition adds to this.

R. G. N. B.

**THE RICH MAN:** Henry Kreisel; McClelland & Stewart; pp. 263; \$3.00.

In *The Rich Man*—ironic title—Mr. Kreisel writes about the kind of man whom we see by the hundred in city crowds and never really notice at all. Jacob Grossman is not exceptional in any way and the author is careful not to let us think that he is. But Jacob, "the man in the street," when looked into by an understanding writer, turns out to be a rich symbol of human nature. He is a presser in a Toronto garment factory, the father of a grown-up family (his Toronto background is swiftly and skilfully drawn at the beginning of the book) whose long cherished dream has been to visit his mother and sisters in Vienna whom he had not seen for many years. They welcome him with affection, but time has changed relationships that once

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existed and the old world misunderstands the "rich man" from the new.

In this quietly written novel about a simple man, Mr. Kreisel has, with sure artistry, illuminated for us the truth that that statistical fiction, "the average man," is not average at all, but has his own individuality and dignity in his own eyes, no matter how commonplace he may seem to the eyes of strangers. A poet once wrote in a famous essay that "the human mind is capable of being excited without the application of gross and violent stimulants": not the least of the virtues of this fine novel is that the author has known how to show the pathos of human misunderstandings within a family, not through sensational events but through the ordinary actions of daily life. The irony in the book is not bitter, but rather a humane irony controlled and directed by the writer's sympathetic understanding of all his characters. He writes with a strong sense of the actual in life and his realism is of the sort that does not exclude the upsurings of the heart felt at times by all men whether exceptional or "average."

Philip Child

FROM SMOKE TO SMOTHER: Douglas Reed; Clarke, Irwin & Co. Ltd. (Jonathan Cape); pp. 360; \$3.00.

I received this book for review with a great sense of pleasure, in the firm belief that I was getting a treatise on the evils of nicotine, to which I have been strongly opposed from away back. Imagine, then, my disappointment, when I discovered that I had been given instead a series of largely undocumented observations on crystal-ball gazing, done up in a volume which does not even have an attractive dust-jacket to recommend it.

The thesis of the book appears to be that the communist and fascist movements are under one central planning authority—"shadowy figures behind the scenes," I believe—and moreover, that these movements are not at all what they have seemed to be, but are actually composed of Nihilists and Zionists united for the purpose of seizing world power, and so on. The shadowy figures, it seems, have been working toward this end since the French Revolution, from which point, according to Mr. Reed, all the world's troubles stem directly. The jump from the French Revolution to the two World Wars is a little difficult to make, although I suspect Mr. Reed believes it has something to do with the Archduke Ferdinand and the Kaiser Wilhelm being the illegitimate grandchildren of Robespierre.

At any rate, it is extremely difficult to follow, as is the whole book. Mr. Reed demonstrates or proves almost nothing, except perhaps his own ability as a forecaster, which he impresses on the reader no end, but merely makes a number of guesses and accusations some of which are of a rather sneaky nature. (He sneaks in such things as "the Roosevelt dictatorship," for instance, in a footnote.) These are interspersed with a number of sentimental reminiscences of persons, places, etc.

There is also a long section on the Labor Government in England which is of some value in that it points out the danger of the abuses which may be made of power, but the author carries it to an extraordinary length for the purpose of damning the Labor Government from the beginning, simply because it is a Labor Government. It is techniques such as this which makes the book seem to me either stupid or a long piece of bad propaganda (or both). Indeed, one might almost suspect Mr. Reed himself of being a shadowy figure behind the scenes, right stage, of course. The book is not badly written, but I am afraid I cannot regard it as the oracle which the author intends it to be. I can only hope

that if any of you received *From Smoke to Smother* from a hurried, well-intentioned great aunt at Christmas, you may still find the exchange people sympathetic.

George McCowan

THE SKY AND THE FOREST: C. S. Forester; Michael Joseph Ltd.; pp. 280; \$3.00.

It would be anyone's loss to consider *The Sky and the Forest* a mere change of strategy on the part of an historical novelist. By its whole attitude the book cancels out the imaginary image of the dark continent formed by the Africana of Marryat and Edgar Wallace, by the missionizing of Livingstone. And, of course, by the Victorian white supremacy of Rider Haggard and E. R. Burroughs' transplantation of Charles Atlas into the jungle. Forester treats Loa, his principal character, as a primitive man in his own world with its peculiar standards, not as a figure to be shot, saved, or idealized.

At first sight Loa may seem to receive the romantic treatment conceivably due to a dark god. He is unself-conscious in action, his violence and cruelty mostly confined to what is necessary for survival. His emotional responses are refreshingly instinctive and immediate. In fact, he is as understandable as a child and so somewhat as lovable. Forester even gives him and his family a chance to begin afresh from the condition of their first-parents. But the example of the slave-raiding Arabs and his fear of them cause him to discover the new necessity of becoming the warring ruler of an expanding state. Furthermore, his actions are contrasted with the systematic cruelty of the Arabs and the white mercenaries. The slavery of the Arabs is a more deliberately man-made "necessity" and so all the more horrible. There is nothing child-like about Talbot's weary, self-pitying cynicism and vicious fear.

But this contrast does not suffice for the purpose of a crude irony. Forester holds no brief for the noble savage. Though he likes Loa better than Talbot, he pities the former patronizingly as he traces his progress as a chieftain towards the kind of civilization which meets him before his people ever have time to approximate it.

The book contains some unwarranted interpolation, the story drifts away from the theme at times, and a persistent imitation of the camera is annoyingly noticeable. But, alongside the loss in power and direction caused by these defects, there is much excellent reportage, for instance of the slave raid and its immediate aftermath, while the imaginative insight into primitive psychology is exciting.

David Parsons

#### ALSO RECEIVED

- CAN FARMERS AFFORD TO LIVE BETTER?: Lowry Nelson; National Planning Association (Pamphlet No. 65); pp. 32; 75c.  
THE AWAKENING MIDDLE EAST: Elizabeth Monroe; Canadian Assoc. for Adult Education and Canadian Institute of Inter. Affairs; pp. 20; 15c.  
FREEDOM AND THE NEWS: G. V. Ferguson; Canadian Assoc. for Adult Education and Canadian Institute of Inter. Affairs; pp. 17; 15c.  
PUBLIC SERVICE AS A CAREER IN CANADA: Hugh L. Keenleyside; University of B.C. (Lecture Series No. 2); pp. 16.  
CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY: Hugh L. Keenleyside; University of B.C. (Lecture Series No. 3); pp. 17.  
THE PURSUIT OF LOVE: Nancy Mitford; The Reprint Society of Canada Ltd.; pp. 222; \$1.35 to members.

## OUR CONTRIBUTORS

MORTIMER LEVITT was a member of the Press Relations Bureau of the Canadian Jewish Congress and a reporter on the Quebec *Chronicle Telegraph*. He is at present engaged in marketing research in Montreal . . . FRANCES HALL, of Glendale, California, contributed a short story to our issue of November, 1944.

